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LANGUAGE PROFESSIONALS AS REGULATORS OF ACADEMIC DISCOURSE

Hanna-Mari Pienimäki

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

The ethnographic study focuses on how language professionals regulate the language of different academic genres, such as scholarly manuscripts, press releases, administrative texts and curricula as part of their work in a multidisciplinary Finnish university. In the institution, the function of translation and authors' editing is to produce institutional multilingualism and develop and sustain the quality of English entextualized into published texts. The main types of data, collected during ethnographic fieldwork, are interviews, on-site recordings and text trajectories.

Motivated by two distinct lines of inquiry, the thesis sets out to investigate both how language professionals regulate academic discourse through action and their roles and responsibilities in processes of text production as construed through talk. In applying an ethnographic methodology, the thesis focuses on the habitual, repetitive and routinized ways of doing and talking about translation and authors' editing in the community.

Adopting a posthumanist stance, translation and authors' editing are understood as social practices that result from stable, recurring re-enactments and deployments of people, technology and other materials. These assemblages are the loci of the inquiry. The study depicts and brings to the fore the actors, human as well as non-human, and their roles and contributions to the processes of text production. The thesis investigates the institutional roles the language professionals occupy as part of academia, how they distribute agency, authority and responsibilities among themselves, their colleagues and clients, as well as across various forms of technology and other resources. Informed by practice theories, the thesis demonstrates how the practices of translation and authors' editing comprise of elements, and how these elements, together with the organization of practices, can introduce stability and systematicity across individual acts of language regulation – even beyond the immediate community.

The language professionals' ways of working either aid or impede the introduction of systematicity into language regulation. Collaborative organization of work, shared materials and technology build coherence into the practice of translation, allowing meanings assigned to language regulation to become shared among the community members, and even to travel to other practices of writing in the institution. Authors' editing, on the other hand, is a solitary endeavor marked by transient and unstable configurations of actors who navigate text production without a shared set of norms to coordinate their actions.

Language professionals take on roles and responsibilities to facilitate the production of an authoritative and accessible English-medium voice, in order to create commodifiable value for others; to attract international students and staff, and to help scholarly manuscripts get published in prestigious journals.

Because practices of academic writing inherently feature multiple actors, both translation and authors' editing emblematically contain negotiation. Language professionals constantly engage in negotiation with their clients and each other over the norms and ideals of genre, academic writing, audience and authorship, i.e. the meanings assigned to text production in an academic context.

Language professionals take part in academic text production through practices of rewriting that aligns texts with the presumed needs and expectations of their future audience through acts of language regulation. Through language regulation, language professionals act as mediators of indexes, of the ways in which meanings are created and interpreted, on behalf of both the original text-producers and their intended audience.

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CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

1 INTRODUCTION

The internationalization and commodification of academia has created a situation where non-Anglophone universities need to operate in many languages and communicate increasingly in English. As a result, some institutions have decided to offer language support services to facilitate English-medium text production. These services are used by universities in their external and internal communications, as well as by individuals who need to publish in English to advance their own careers in academia. The services include, for example, translation and authors' editing – the two writing practices this thesis sets out to study. In the thesis, I study translators and language revisors (doing authors' editing) who work in a Finnish university in a unit offering language support services. This thesis presents an ethnography of the work of such language professionals as a part of a multidisciplinary academic institution. I will focus on translators and language revisors, who produce or facilitate the production of English-medium texts, because their role has become increasingly important as universities strive to internationalize. My ethnographic inquiry investigates ways of working and ideas about language work that are constitutive of this particular work community. By analyzing data collected during fieldwork, in interviews, by making on-site recordings and gathering text trajectories I set out to investigate how language professionals act as regulators of academic discourse.

In the institution I studied, translation was used to help the institution to operate and communicate in many languages contemporaneously. The work of language revisors (authors' editing), on the other hand, was first and foremost about facilitating English-medium research publication for international audiences. Through these roles, translators and language revisors come to regulate the way university administration, researchers and other actors communicate in English through written discourse. As language professionals *rewrite* the texts they work with, they act as "literacy brokers" (Lillis and Curry, 2006) who mediate English-medium writing in conventionalized cycles of text production. In other words, they act as regulators of academic discourse.

The study of writing allows the exploration and identification of multiple actors' participatory roles. It also centralizes the ways in which these actors take part in shaping texts through language regulation. The approach and methodologies adopted in the thesis focus particularly on these two aspects. Studying writing creates affordances for the investigation of each actor's role in detail, and the differences in roles that become salient because of the context. It reveals the scope and degree of authority each of the actors have to regulate the production of written language, who are allowed to mediate which

norms, what can be imposed in text production, and what needs to be negotiated in collaboration with the other actors taking part in the process.

In the thesis, I study how language professionals develop, negotiate, and mediate norms and ideals of English-medium text production, and what kind of traces their mediation leaves in texts. This mediation I conceptualize as language regulation. For some readers, my point of departure might be somewhat controversial. How can a translator regulate language use if they are just repeating what someone else wrote in another language? Milroy (2001) argues that language is often viewed as a standardized system in which meanings assigned to linguistic forms are stable. From this follows the presumption that meanings assigned to stretches of text can be easily transferred from one language to another, or that a text written by a non-Anglophone author can be easily "polished" by English-speaking language revisors without any changes in meaning. For people who do not actively engage in language work, translation and authors' editing might seem like mechanical acts, much in the way Google translate processes the words you type into another language, or how Word flags stretches of text that the algorithm has been coded to highlight. But anyone who has worked extensively with language, for example, researching, translating, teaching, or editing it, knows that making a text convey the meanings the author intends – written in any language, let alone in a foreign one – is not a straightforward endeavor.

Much of meaning-making relies on conventions. We associate certain types of language use with particular genres or registers and know that some linguistic features are typical for a specific domain (Swales, 1990; Mortensen, Coupland and Thøgersen, 2017). We know this in theory, but in practice typical features might be more difficult to incorporate into a text – especially if the text is written in a language we are less familiar with. This is because we might be unfamiliar with the *indexes*, i.e. the ways in which meaning is being created and interpreted, in a foreign language (Silverstein, 2003; Agha, 2004). Language professionals, such as those studied in this thesis, operate at the interface of at least two languages. They process intended meanings authored by others and convert those into a form they presume to be most widely recognized by an audience that does not share the author's first language. Language professionals do not operate at the level of individual words or even sentences and mechanically transform them into another language. Instead, language professionals are experts in producing texts that are both linguistically appropriate and accessible to their future audience. Language regulation, I will argue, is an essential part of this process.

1.1 LANGUAGE REGULATION, AUTHORITY, AND RESPONSIBILITIES

This thesis studies the everyday work of translators and language revisors in an academic setting. I focus on how translators and language revisors regulate

the language of different academic genres, such as press releases, administrative texts, curricula and scholarly manuscripts. In addition, I investigate forms of participation through which the language professionals become part of English-medium text production. The research has been conducted as part of a project called *Language regulation in academia: The shifting norms of English use*[1] (LaRA) which studies what kind of forms language regulation takes in a university setting. Language regulation refers to ways in which language users manage, monitor and intervene in each other's or their own language use (Hynninen & Solin, 2017). Solin and Hynninen (2018, p. 495) argue that language regulation targets either language choice (what languages can or should be used in certain contexts) or language quality (what kind of language can or should be used in certain contexts). This thesis focuses on how translators and language revisors regulate language quality – on what it means for the language professionals I studied and how they produce, develop, and maintain language quality through their work.

I would like to recount an anecdote about how I ended up studying language regulation and language professionals. Before joining the LaRA project, I worked as a translator in my own micro business. One of my first commissions in 2012 was to translate different kinds of documents for an infrastructure engineering company from Finnish to English. The documents ranged from CVs to PowerPoint presentations and agreements, and the company needed them as reference material for acquiring clients. I had no knowledge of the domain and was not familiar with the field's specialized terminology. I had received the commission because the translator they normally used was not available to translate the documents on a tight schedule over the Easter holidays, and my father, who worked for the company at the time, suggested they ask if I could take on the job.

I took up the challenge, mostly because I relied on being able to check some of the terminology with my father. It soon became evident that the terminology was not directly transferable from one context to the next. Building infrastructure is not the same everywhere. Some of the terms were so specific that they were in use only in Finland; for others, there were more than one potential alternative and I found it difficult to decide which would be best for the translation. Close to the deadline, I had a talk with my father about the terms I found most difficult. He was very helpful in explaining what the terms meant in Finnish but could only help to find translations for some of the terms.

In the end, I had to decide on my own what I thought were the best ways to translate the terms. I remember being somewhat overwhelmed by the authority given to me to determine how the company was portrayed to the potential clients in English. This seemed like an immense responsibility, especially since the company obviously could not determine whether my translations were successful or not. But apparently the company was satisfied

[1] Funded by the Kone foundation 2015–2019. Link to the project website: https://www2.helsinki.fi/en/researchgroups/language-regulation-in-academia

with my translations and I received commissions from them at steady intervals. Because of this I grew more confident, and the translation process got easier as I was able to use my own translations as reference material for new commissions. In 2014, when I was asked to join the LaRA project and come up with a research topic that was about language regulation in an academic context, I immediately thought about language professionals and whether they were facing similar difficulties in translating material on specialized topics. As the two other project members, docent Anna Solin (PI) and Dr. Niina Hynninen had already decided that the project would focus on writing, the incorporation of support services for English-medium writing started to appear like a good idea in terms of the overall aims of the project.

The LaRA project focuses on the ways in which different actors participate in and regulate the production of texts in an academic setting. The project is interested, for example, in writing as a distributed practice. Studying writing from various perspectives has highlighted how writing in academia is mediated action which is characterized by different forms of participation. Actors either are assigned or take on responsibilities and authority in the writing process and across trajectories of text production. The participation of multiple actors also means that writing is a site for negotiation. Actors might draw on different norms, e.g. disciplinary and linguistic ones, and they might hold differing ideals on genre, text, or even language itself.

The study of language regulation opens opportunities to investigate how established or situational the norms and ideals are and whose ideas of "good" texts are eventually taken up. In essence, the project aims to understand who has the power to determine what language should be like and how these actors impose, negotiate, and mediate their views about language use to other actors taking part in the process of writing. The focus on language regulation also allows the exploration of different forms of regulation ranging from institutional guidelines or policies to established ways of doing things as well as to fleeting moments of everyday communication. The locus of investigation is action, the different ways in which language use is managed, monitored, and intervened in. This shifts the analytical gaze from top-down regulation towards the uptake of policies, as well as alternative forms of policy-making, how regulation from above can be contested, appropriated, ignored, or even surrogated with locally established regulation. In other words, the study of language regulation is about the study of the politics of everyday language use.

1.2 TRANSLATORS, LANGUAGE REVISORS, AND THE ACADEMIC SETTING

In academia, to most people consuming English-medium texts, translation and authors' editing are invisible practices. These practices are embedded as part of the more prestigious practices of English-medium writing and publication, but the role of these language professionals is often

backgrounded. The names of translators rarely occur in texts published by academic institutions, and language revisors are not typically listed as co-authors (or even acknowledged) in research publications. The invisibility of these actors can fuel a devaluation of the practices, and also disguise the extent to which these actors *do* wield power to determine what English-medium academic discourse is like. This thesis will begin to unveil the ways in which the language professionals perceive themselves and the work they do as part of the academic community; as well as tracks the traces the translators and language revisors leave in the texts they work with.

In this thesis, translation and authors' editing are viewed as practices of writing that have become increasingly important in an internationalizing and competitive academia. In the university I studied, scholars aim to publish in highly ranked international journals and the university aspires to attract potential students, staff and funding from abroad. Along with these developments, the need for English-medium writing has grown significantly. The shift has been relatively fast and has marked an increase in the need for translation and authors' editing. As a response to these developments, the unit I studied has grown from a small enterprise into an integral part of the university's operations. A large proportion of the university's communications in English goes through the hands of the unit's four translators, and many researchers, especially in the humanities and social sciences, use the services offered by the unit's three in-house and dozens of freelance language revisors. This thesis aims to investigate how the translators and language revisors perceive their role in the processes of text production and what happens to texts when they participate in routinized cycles of text production – how these language professionals regulate language in the texts they work with.

As translation and authors' editing can be understood as forms of rewriting ingrained in other practices of academic writing, I understand my own study on these practices as drawing primarily on research on academic literacy studies (e.g. Lillis and Curry, 2010; Blommaert, 2013a; Tusting et al., 2019) and language regulation. These fields (broadly understood) I also identify as my own home base. By studying authors' editing ethnographically, the thesis contributes to academic literacy studies by developing a more thorough understanding as to how English-medium research publications are produced in a non-Anglophone context that is privileged in the sense that authors often have resources for language support services. I also hope to offer new perspectives to research carried out on language professionals. Ethnography is an established methodology used to study translation (for ethnographies of translation, see, e.g., Koskinen, 2008; Risku et al., 2013; Buzelin, 2007), but has not been extensively used to study language revisors. Because of this, I believe I will be able to contribute to discussions on the role of authors' editing in academic publishing. By investigating language work through the lens of language regulation and by drawing on literacy studies, I aim to bring new perspectives to the study of language professionals. In addition, I participate in already ongoing discussions on translation policy, the institutional role of

language professionals, their agency and forms of participation in English-medium text production as well as on the materiality of translation and authors' editing. The thesis also addresses a current debate on the significance of studying practices in language policy studies. Recently, there have been calls for language policy studies that adopt a grass-roots perspective into policy-making – in developing an understanding of practiced language policies (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012, 2017). By studying English translators and language revisors ethnographically, I show how language professionals' local, conventionalized ways of doing things, their practiced language policies regulate language and can also inform the development of institution-wide language policies.

1.3 ETHNOGRAPHY, THE PRACTICE TURN, AND POSTHUMANIST APPLIED LINGUISTICS

As, in this thesis, the study of language regulation is about exploring the politics of the everyday, it needs to be studied with a methodology that is able to capture the mundane actions, ideas, and artefacts of the community of interest to the study. Ethnography offers such a methodology in its versatility and in its cultivation of a holistic understanding of the phenomena, actors, and processes under scrutiny. Ethnography has the ability to privilege the perspective of the actors, allow the researcher to be immersed in the ways of the community, but also to encourage in distancing from the everyday to help in making analytical observations. In a way, ethnography is about being able to come close, to understand how the dynamics of the everyday operate (the *emic* understanding); importantly, however, it also allows stepping back in order to grasp how the local and situated might be related to other places and times, to make sense of the happenings analytically (the *etic* understanding). With ethnography's focus on the everyday, on the mundane happenings that make up the social reality in the communities we inhabit, the researcher observes repetitive, routinized and habitual ways of thinking, doing and being in the world – in other words, the ethnographic analysis often focuses on practices.

In social sciences, exploring practices, *the ways of doing things*, has become foundational for understanding how social order is established (Van Leuuwen, 2008, p. 5). Schatzki (2001) recognizes that the social sciences are increasingly interested in practices. Rather than focusing solely on imposed ways of controlling action and assuming order is created from above, the analysis of practices sees social order emanating from the repeated activities people do. Of course, this does not mean that the logic of practices could not be constrained by imposition from above, but it refuses to take these constraints for action as the starting point of the analysis.

The same goes for language. Language use can draw on established norms for linguistic conduct, but it need not do so. Rather than understanding

language as a system that people draw on to communicate, in this study, language use is seen as recurring acts of communication that eventually get regimented and create orderliness and structure into the ways language gets used in a given context. In the thesis, I perceive language, not as a system that can be acquired, but rather *a way of doing things*. The fact that language displays seeming systematicity in the community I studied is the result of people repeatedly introducing systematicity through recurring acts of language use as they carry out their daily business. The translators, for example, use language to engage their readers, to communicate essential information, and to portray the institution they work for as an authoritative figure to English-speaking audiences through linguistic features that are emblematic of translation in the unit. The functions the texts have been assigned in the community I studied leave traces in the texts as they go through the language professionals' hands. Essentially, the agency in determining what language in translations, or scholarly manuscripts, is like is *distributed* across actors that take part in text production.

Distributed agency and language, the ideas that I draw on in my work, have been grouped under a framework that is often labelled posthumanistic (Pennycook, 2018). Posthumanism has emerged as distinct lines of thinking in separate fields and disciplines that have begun to question the basic premises of humanism, such as agency being attributed to human ability alone, the generalizability of human nature or universalism in general. It also explores ideas about extending the mind and enhancing human capacity by distributing cognition and agency across objects and space. Pennycook (2018, p. 17) has invited applied linguists to ask what these ideas could mean in terms of our understanding of language. How do we understand language and communication if we abandon human exceptionalism? And if we think about translation and authors' editing, what do language professionals' competences look like if we understand competence as distributed into a wider network of practices? What does language policy-making mean if we take into account that things, such as the software used by language professionals, could have agency? Posthumanism opens up lines of thinking that can bridge the themes that begin to emerge as translation and authors' editing are scrutinized through the lens of social practices.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

I set out to study how the language professionals regulate academic discourse from different angles throughout the analysis chapters. In some of the analysis chapters I dedicate my attention more clearly on how translation and authors' editing are talked about and in some how they are carried out. Nonetheless, all analysis chapters integrate different types of data in the analysis to build a coherent picture of the practices and their meaning in the institution I studied.

My first set of research questions explore what language regulation looks like in the practices of translation and authors' editing as they are carried out in the academic context. I draw from fieldnotes, text data, photographs as well as email correspondence. The research questions guiding the analysis of these data sets aim to explore the observable *ways of doing things* that the Unit's language professionals have developed and routinely carry out in their work. The questions are the following:

1. How do translators and language revisors regulate academic discourse?
    a) How is translation and authors' editing carried out in the Unit?
    b) What kind of affordances or constraints do the ways of working create?
    c) What kind of textual and linguistic elements trigger language regulation?
    d) What regulatory actions can be identified in translation and authors' editing processes?

I will also reflect upon the ways of working in light of what the language professionals themselves think about their work, and about their role in English-medium text production processes in the internationalizing academia. I approach this line of inquiry with the help of the questions that are listed below:

2. What roles and responsibilities do translators and language revisors have in English-medium text production?
    a) What kind of roles do the language professionals construe for themselves as part of academia?
    b) What kind of roles do the language professionals take on during English-medium text production processes?
    c) How are their roles and responsibilities distributed temporally across different phases of the translation and authors' editing processes?
    d) How are their roles and responsibilities distributed socially across actors taking part in the practices of translation and authors' editing?

These questions I seek to answer by analyzing interview data and fieldnotes, but also with recordings of meetings and seminars as well as different types of textual data, such as document data and email correspondence. Answering questions 2b, 2c and 2d above also relies heavily on the versions of texts produced by the language professionals. Both the observable ways of working and the discursively construed rationalizations for the roles and responsibilities as part of academia and in English-medium text production are at the core of each of the five analysis chapters; but their weighing differs. I want both lines of inquiry to be tightly interwoven, to complement one another, which is why both actions and rationalizations feature in each of the analysis chapters. The only analysis chapter that does not explicitly address both lines of inquiry is chapter 4 that sets the scene for the subsequent

chapters. In section 1.5 I will describe the focus of each analysis chapter as well as the other chapters as I present the structure of the thesis.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis consists of nine chapters. Chapter 2, titled "Theoretical background", takes up and defines the key concepts used in the thesis. These include language regulation, language norms and language ideologies as well as social practices. Chapter 2 also incorporates into the discussion lines of thinking that draw from practice theories and posthumanism. Finally, chapter 2 presents previous research relevant for the study of language regulation: academic literacy studies, language policy studies and research on language professionals. Chapter 3 "Material and methods" describes how the study was carried out. I present ethnography and discuss its affordances for the purposes of the study. I also present the site and the people I studied, the data and methods of data collection and analysis as well as ethical considerations.

In the first analysis chapter (Ch. 4), "The elements of translation and authors' editing" I portray translation and authors' editing as institutionally established social practices. With the help of research questions 1a and 1b, I describe the backgrounds of the language professionals, their ways of working and the tools they use as well as the implications these have on the ways in which translation and authors' editing are carried out in the community. Informed by practice theory I focus on the material aspects of translation and authors' editing to explore how these create affordances and constrain ways of working. The subsequent four analysis chapters discuss one practice at a time, in total there are two analysis chapters on translation and two on authors' editing.

Chapter 5 "Translation – a local standard" looks at translation as a manifestation of a language policy. In order to seek answers to research questions 1b, 2a and 2d, I zoom my analytical lens into one predominant language ideology – the ideology of the standard language (Milroy, 2001). First, because language ideologies become most apparent in their discursive manifestations, I disentangle the meanings the translators assign to the development and incorporation of the local standard as these are construed through talk. The primary data sets used to analyze how meanings are assigned for translation are the interviews I conducted with the language professionals. But since language ideologies are also constitutive *of* and constituted *in* action, I will then, with the aid of observational data, documents, and discussions that I have recorded on the site, depict how the local ideal materializes itself in the way translation is carried out in the community. I untangle the different roles and responsibilities the actors are assigned or take on in the creation and maintenance of the standard and show how technology is used to aid in the storing and deployment of the standard.

Chapter 6, "Translation as the production of an institutional voice" takes a closer look at language quality production in the translation process and the division of labor between the translators and language revisors. Questions 1c, 2c and 2d form the central lines of inquiry for this chapter. The data analyzed consists primarily of trajectories of texts translated in the Unit, but the analysis is also complemented with interview data. I describe how the Unit's translators and language revisors style the texts they work with at a textual level, but I also echo the ways in which the translators and language revisors talk about their roles in the translation process. I show how the act of translating becomes a site of norm negotiation, in which the participants operate within pre-established frameworks of participation to develop shared understandings of meanings assigned for translation in the unit.

Chapter 7, "Authors' editing – the triggers of language regulation", first takes up questions 2a, 2b and 2c to investigate the roles and responsibilities the language revisors have in the unit. The chapter begins by analyzing the discursively constructed roles the language revisors take on or assign for themselves as they take part in scholarly text production and publication by investigating interview data. From the revisors' talk and document data, I identify tensions in the distribution of roles across the different actors: the authors of the scholarly publications, the language revisors, and the management and faculty level issuing policies that create boundaries and limits for the ways of working. After establishing how the language revisors talk about authors' editing, I move on to study action with the help of the first set of research questions, particularly questions 1c and 1d. By analyzing versions of texts produced during authors' editing, I demonstrate how the tensions can be observed at the level of texts – in how the language revisors introduce interventions into texts.

Chapter 8, "Renegotiating the role of the language revisor" again picks up the line of inquiry set in motion in chapter 7. In order to more thoroughly conceptualize authors' editing as a practice that is tightly interwoven with other practices of knowledge creation, I incorporate into the analysis the voices of referees and authors. With two text trajectories (consisting of several versions of two scholarly papers, email correspondence, decision documents, one of the authors' research diary and interview data), and by reflecting on the data in the light of questions 1c, 2b and 2d, I investigate how evaluative gatekeeper feedback on language can trigger a need to renegotiate the role of the language revisor. During fieldwork the language revisors kept bringing to my attention scenarios where authors' edited texts received negative language-related comments from referees in the peer review process. Having established in chapter 7 what a typical authors' editing process is like in the community I studied, I wanted to understand what was going on in these rare but undeniably challenging situations that the language revisors perceived as questioning their expertise. The analysis is then contrasted with the findings of chapter 7 as well as with the established conceptualizations of authors' editing put forward in existing literature. The thesis concludes with chapter 9,

"Discussion" that reflects on the findings in the light of the research objectives and previous research. The chapter also includes suggestions for future research and practitioners, and the thesis ends in brief concluding remarks.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

There is a long tradition in linguistic and social scientific research to trace, identify and make visible how language is used to create social order – to control, police and govern – to wield power with language. Some of these lines of inquiry are explicitly addressed in the discussion presented in this chapter. These include, for example, the study of language ideologies, the sociology of translation, language policy studies and studies of literacy that conceptualize writing as a social practice. Although the purpose of this chapter is to bring together a rather extensive body of literature and put them into dialogue with one another, I want to establish my own scholarly footing before embarking on the task. Even though the thesis studies translation and authors' editing, I first and foremost identify myself as a researcher of writing. It is the processes, purposes, people and technologies used in writing – and their entanglements – that form the central line of inquiry in the thesis, and all of these I view through the conceptual lens of language regulation. The regulation of academic writing is at the core, but other conceptual and theoretical tools are needed to make sense of how language support services operate in an internationalizing academia. In this chapter I establish and discuss these key concepts, theories and previous research relevant for the study of language professionals as regulators of academic discourse.

2.1 CONCEPTS

In this section I present the central conceptual apparatuses and theoretical groundings and establish their relevance for the present study. In addition, I attempt to trace some of the historical developments of the concepts, their relations to each other and to the theories presented in this chapter.

2.1.1 LANGUAGE REGULATION

Language regulation is the most central concept used in this thesis. One of the benefits of employing the concept is that it can be used to describe a variety of phenomena from, for example, macro-level national or institutional policies to grassroots micro-level self-correction during a speech event. In this section I trace the development of the concept and explain the way in which it is operationalized in this study.

Drawing on Seargeant's (2009) language regulation scenarios, research on norms, language policy studies and language policing, as well as on research on English as a lingual franca, Hynninen (2013, 2016) explored the regulatory mechanisms with which speakers manage and monitor their own and each other's language use in interaction in an academic setting. Hynninen (2013, p.

23) sees language regulation as "the discursive practice through which norms are reproduced" (reproduction) and through which "alternative ones emerge" (norm-formation). As such, Hynninen's conceptualization of language regulation is closely linked to *policing* language (e.g., Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh, 2009), the common denominator being that both represent actor-centered approaches to conceptualizing how language use is controlled. Hynninen also sees close connections to Cameron's (1995) "verbal hygiene", i.e. practices through which actors enforce linguistic rules on others.

Central to Hynninen's (2016) argument on language regulation is that communities can draw from both codified norms as well as engage in communal norm-development – that there are tensions, and that speakers can orient to either correctness norms or appropriateness norms (Hynninen, 2016; Piippo, 2012, definitions and discussion on norms in section 2.1.3). In addition, an understanding of language regulation benefits from integrating the analysis of both normative beliefs and behavior (Hynninen, 2016). Later Hynninen and Solin (2017, p. 270) developed the concept further to define "language regulation as practices through which language users monitor, intervene in and manage their own and others' language use".

In 2014, the LaRA project was established to explore the concept empirically. The studies included in the project have focused on the institutional context of academia and investigated especially how language regulation manifests in the mechanisms established to regulate writing and in the writing practices of various kinds of actors (e.g. researchers, language professionals, teachers, administrators).

The underlying idea in adopting the term *language regulation* to conceptualize the ways in which language use is controlled was an attempt to move away from or broaden the scope of what is considered as acts of controlling language use. Language policy studies have often been interested in how formal guidelines establish principles and requirements for language use in a given context. Despite attempts to conceptualize *language policy* as practices through which policy manifests (see e.g. Spolsky, 2004), it is most often used to refer to fixed *policies as text*, not to processes through which policies can, for example be formed or become implemented through recurring practices (see however Bonacina-Pugh, 2012, 2017, for more on the conceptualizations of language policy, see section 2.2.2).

The processual understanding of language regulation also encompasses a view of regulation as tied to certain temporalities and localities – in other words, it implies that language regulation is situated and contextual. This means that what might become a target of language regulation in a given spatiotemporal context, might not be perceived as such or evoke any actions in another. It also means that while language regulation might evoke connotations to and draw on global issues, such as imposing Anglocentric rhetorical conventions on a manuscript written by a Finnish speaker, every act of language regulation always manifests as a local appropriation of a norm or ideology.

Another important point is that language regulation, as it encompasses both explicit rules and the ways in which language users construe them, also includes situated events in which language is regulated. Importantly, however, language regulation does not always lead to desired outcomes. That is, language regulation might have the potential to affect aspects of language use, but it might fail to manifest in actual language practices. Many scholars (Solin and Hynninen, 2018; Blommaert, 2013b; McCarty, 2011; Nekvapil and Sherman, 2015) have argued that, while explicit mechanisms of language regulation – such as institutional language policies – might be the most apparent form of language regulation, an analysis solely focusing on this aspect without integrating local perspectives misses the inherent complexity of language regulation. Furthermore, the studies of institutional policies axiomatically fail to acknowledge that "practices might range from relatively situated and temporary ones to more permanent and explicitly managed ones" (Solin and Hynninen, 2018, p. 496).

Solin and Hynninen (2018) make a conceptual distinction between language regulation that targets language choice and the regulation that focuses on language quality. They argue that language regulation "can target both 'language choice' – which languages can and should be used in which contexts and genres – and 'language quality' – what kind of English language users deem appropriate, acceptable and functional in specific contexts " (p. 495). In the setting I studied, the decisions over language choice were not central to my investigation on translation and authors' editing since decisions over what language to choose for a particular text were made by others, namely authors of scholarly manuscripts, administrators and press officers. What was central in these two practices was that both were concerned with regulating the quality of the language. Exploring what language quality means for translators and language revisors brings to the forefront the ways in which "good" and "bad" language are constructed, and what norms and ideologies actors draw on in their acts of regulation or perceptions about acceptable language use.

In her early work, Hynninen (2016) focused on spoken interaction, while studies carried out in the LaRA project have begun to explore the concept in the context of writing (Solin and Hynninen, 2018; Solin, 2018; Hynninen, 2018a, Hynninen, 2018b, Hynninen, 2020, Hynninen, 2021). The shift in the mode under investigation has meant that there has been a shift in what aspects of language use become salient for users, i.e., from what kind of shared understandings actors draw upon when language regulation occurs. For example, Hynninen (2016) found that, in English as a lingua franca (ELF) scenarios, written language was commented on and corrected much more frequently than speech. What is more, the regulation of writing targeted different things than the regulation of speech. Language regulation triggered by writing most often oriented to linguistic form and correctness issues, while the regulation of speech most often addressed the acceptability of language use and was to ensure successful communication. These reflect the common

findings that diversity, variation and openness to new norms are typical features of speech that also draws on a wide range of other semiotic resources, but less tolerated in writing (Mauranen, 2012). These findings indicate that the quality of language is assessed differently depending on the mode.

Writing, as opposed to speaking, relies on a different set of indexicalities (Silverstein, 2003, see section 2.1.3 on language ideologies) to convey meaning because of the temporal and spatial distance between the author and reader. Often these indexes of meaning are conventionalized ways-of-writing that are inscribed into genres in a way that allows for the recognition of certain types of language use as a manifestation of a genre (Swales, 1990). Language regulation can be used to impose conventionalized ways of writing to make texts, for example, more aligned with the prototypical realization of a genre (Solin, 2001). Since written genres cannot rely on as wide a range of semiotic resources, the linguistic realization of genres might become more salient for meaning-making in writing than in speech, which makes writing a more likely target of language regulation (Barbour, 2002; Canagarajah, 2006). Genres also become important in relation to language regulation because the production of some genres might be more regulated than others (Canagarajah, 2006).

Writing also differs in terms of how many people take part in the production process. In speech the utterance is typically produced solely by the speaker, while in writing the text might have gone through the hands of many agents of regulation who have shaped the outcome in (at times repeated) cycles of text production before the text is eventually published and read (see e.g. Lillis and Curry, 2010; Burrough-Boenisch, 2003). In other words, the mediated nature of language use becomes more apparent, methodologically detectable and easier to track in writing than in speech. Especially published written texts become the object of language regulation because of the forum in which the text is eventually made available. Although there might be some exceptions, writing (for publication) is typically considered a more high-stakes activity than most speech events, which is why writing also has more potential to become a target of language regulation.

As our research in the LaRA project has developed an interest for studying what kind of forms language regulation takes in writing, two clear lines of inquiry have become salient. Language quality becomes increasingly important the more high-stakes writing that actors engage in (although language choice can be at play as well, see e.g. Hynninen and Kuteeva, 2020). In addition, the written mode allows the exploration and identification of multiple actors' participatory roles and the ways in which these actors take part in shaping texts through language regulation. The approach and methodologies adopted in my study focus particularly on these two aspects. Studying writing creates affordances for the investigation of each actor's role in detail, and the differences in roles that become salient because of the context. It reveals the scope and degree of authority each of the actors have to regulate the production of written language, who are allowed to mediate which

norms, what can be imposed in text production, and what needs to be negotiated in collaboration with the other actors taking part in the process.

Studying the regulation of language quality highlights how expectations of writing are contextual (Piippo, Vaattovaara and Voutilainen, 2016). These expectations draw on norms and ideologies that are considered meaningful in a given context. In the following sections, I will briefly review central research on these concepts and define what I mean by language norms, language ideologies and practices. A closely linked concept to language regulation is norms of language use. In what follows in the next section, I will briefly review the historical developments in how *language norms* have been conceptualized in literature.

2.1.2 LANGUAGE NORMS

As Hynninen (2016) notes, some of the first conceptualizations of *language norms* viewed language use as either orienting to and emanating from codified linguistic norms or from the non-standardized norms of dialects or registers. In these conceptualizations, the yardstick against which the normativity of language is measured is one single center from which language norms originate (Hynninen, 2016). Later research developed an understanding of language norms as a site of negotiation and even contestation (e.g. Bamgbose, 1998). They depart from the earlier approach in that linguistic behavior, the way people use language, can be seen as a source of normativity that eventually leads to codification, not the other way around as in the earlier approach (Hynninen, 2016). The inherent variation in language use enables the emergence of multiple norms from which people can draw on in their language use. Hynninen (2016) argues that while the latter understanding of norms acknowledges that language norms can draw on multiple and at times conflicting sources, they still regard standardization and codification as central steps in the formation of language norms. In essence, they see the formation of a language norm requiring the institutionalization of the norm, that the norm is codified into the language system in order for it to be considered a language norm.

The concept of language norms has remained somewhat undertheorized in (socio)linguistics (Blommaert, 2006, p. 520; Piippo, 2012). Blommaert (2006, p. 520) argues that norms are "often presented as part of 'common knowledge', 'competence', or 'intuition', and generally suggested to be a social convention that comes down on language structure and use". This conceptualization backgrounds the forces that are in operation whenever the dynamics of normativity are evoked. For this reason, Piippo (2012, p. 28) argues, instead of viewing language as a "finite system of rules", norms should be understood as *social action*.

Piippo (2012, p. 28) explains that the conceptualization of language norms can be crudely divided into an understanding of norms that is closely tied to linguistic correctness and a view of norms as appropriateness in relation to the

social context. Linguistic correctness norms can be drawn upon, for example, in making evaluations on the syntactic structuring or grammaticality of utterances or stretches of text. Correctness norms are also often codified in grammars and dictionaries (Piippo, 2012, p. 27). The appropriateness of social action, on the other hand, is more difficult to codify since it depends on the context. Appropriateness is situational and negotiated, exhibits more variation and can be more inclined to change. For most languages that have a writing system, linguistic correctness is standardized and often an object of institutional regulation (Milroy, 2001). Appropriateness, on the other hand, can be not only linguistic but also semiotic (Piippo, 2012; Piippo, et al. 2016). The signs used in meaning-making penetrate all manifestations of our social behavior, be they linguistic or non-linguistic. Appropriateness of social action informs context-specific understandings of how to use language, for example, in employing a specific register in a dissertation, and non-linguistically, e.g., to abide by the socially accepted dress-code for a Finnish couple's wedding.

A number of researchers have recently adopted a more dialogic understanding of what language norms are and how people draw on them in their language use (Piippo, 2012; Blommaert, 2013b; Hynninen, 2016; Canagarajah, 2006, 2014; Mortensen, 2017; Solin, 2018). In this approach to language norms, the norms of language use are regarded as much more situational and varied than in the earlier conceptualizations. The status of standardized and codified language is acknowledged while at the same time norms of language are seen to emerge *ad hoc* in the immediate communicative situation and "through social and material networks" (Canagarajah, 2018, p. 288). From this perspective norms can also have either an extensive scope or only a small-scale local effect. Central to this conceptualization of norms is that the relevance of particular norms is determined by the language users themselves, not the researcher or other external authorities' prescribed ideas of correctness and appropriateness (Canagarajah, 2014). This approach sees norms of language use as context-bound and variable, it takes for granted that the norms can be multiple and complementary to one another or subject to contestation (Hynninen & Solin, 2017).

Hynninen & Solin (2017) take the process of norm formation as their starting point and identify three ways in which language users can construe what they deem "correct", "acceptable" or "functional"; these are norms as common, norms as codified or norms as expected / accepted. This categorization highlights that norms can be grounded in different notions of what kind of language use counts as appropriate in a given context. It is the analyst's task to explore "how shared beliefs about acceptable linguistic behaviour are created and how they are adapted and mediated to others" (Solin, 2018, p. 426). This analytical positioning makes room for the investigation of the processual nature of norms – how the many and at times conflicting norms emerge, are created, upheld and negotiated as situations unfold and how different actors enter the stage to participate in the regulation of language and in the mediation and negotiation of norms.

In the current research, I follow the last-mentioned conceptualization of norms. The norms of language my participants construe as relevant for their language use or that they draw on in their acts of language regulation are situational – there are different norms for different genres, for example; they are negotiated with clients and among colleagues, but they are also disputed and contested by the very same actors. The norms of language use are also regimented through different means ranging from the establishment of policies, socialization and with the help of technology. In other words, norms of language use, as they are investigated in this study, reflect the way people normatively construe, develop, adapt or re-establish their social reality through the language regulatory acts they engage in – through the processes in which norms of language use are evoked.

Another central concept in the study of language regulation is language ideology. In the following section I will discuss how I perceive the usefulness of the concept in the study of language regulation.

2.1.3 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

The study of *language ideologies* has its roots in linguistic anthropology and especially in the work of Silverstein (1979, 2003). Due to its origins in anthropology, the study of language ideologies underlines the relationship between language and culture. For Woolard and Schieffelin (1994, p. 55), this means understanding "language ideology as a mediating link between social structures and forms of talk". Language and culture are intertwined and entangled so the investigation of language needs to understand how language not only reflects but also renews the way we understand our social world – how language ideologies organize "the social, political, and historical framing of language and language use" (Blommaert, 2006, p. 518).

Building on the theorizations of the relationship between ideology and language by Voloshinov, Bakhtin and Peirce, the linguistic anthropologist Michael Silverstein (1979) established the study of language ideology as a separate field of research. Silverstein (1979, p. 193) defined language ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use". One of the crucial points Silverstein makes is about the importance of investigating, not only the "scientific statements about language", but also the ideological rationalizations about language as verbalized by people. Silverstein (1979, p. 206) calls these "externalized verbalizations about language". He argues that the formation of language ideologies is linked to the ideology of performativity. For Silverstein (1979, p. 206), the "metalinguistic function of language" enables "the individual's ability to use forms of language strategically, and in a manner subject to evaluation in accordance with an ideology of appropriateness". In a similar vein Woolard and Schieffelin (1994, p. 70) note that "[t]o the extent that speakers conceptualize language as socially purposive action, we must look at their ideas about the meaning, function, and value of

language in order to understand the extent and degree of systematicity in empirically occurring linguistic forms". The key idea is that language serves more than denotational or referential meanings, and that the meaning of a linguistic form is also the result of an indexical link between the form and the context in which it occurs (Kroskrity 2004, p. 500).

According to Silverstein, all language use is potentially indexical; from the smallest meaning-carrying elements such as phonemes to the choice of a given language in a particular situation. Furthermore, indexicalities are ordered and given linguistic forms can carry more than one "entailment", i.e. set of meanings and expectations of behavior (Silverstein, 2003). For example, for Silverstein (2003, p. 212), our understanding of registers arises from the fact that indexical orders are at play, that context affects our interpretations of linguistic forms (he calls this "contextually-inflected differences of 'appropriateness' to context"). A practical example of 1st order and n + 1st order indexes could be a Finnish job application containing compound word errors (in standard Finnish, compound word formation is heavily regulated). While reading such an application, a recruiter can recognize the compound word errors as departures from the standardized forms (non-standard form = 1st order index) and then infer them as a sign of the applicant's incompetence (not being educated enough = n + 1st order index) or sloppiness (not displaying enough effort in their writing). The 1st order index evaluates appropriateness of the linguistic form in relation to context. The ideologies of register and genre the recruiter assigns to the application give rise to the second order of indexes. If the recruiter were to read a happy-birthday-card written by their 7-year-old daughter, the same forms most likely would not trigger the same indexes.

Evaluations of language deeming it "good" or "bad", appropriate or correct, i.e. the meanings assigned to language form, are not inherent properties of the form nor do they magically appear out of thin air. Instead, the indexes are the result of the text and context combining in meaningful ways and being subjected to situated and invested readings. As Agha (2004, p. 24) notes, register range, the variety of registers a person knows or masters (i.e. understands and is able to put the indexes into practice), may influence what social activities they are allowed to take part in. He claims that register competence is thus consequential for unequal distribution of power, socioeconomic class and a person's position within hierarchies.

In language use that is inherently heterogenous, such as in scenarios that include communication in a foreign language, for example translation and authors' editing, the study of language ideologies highlights the dynamic nature of normativity. Conceptualizations of "good" and "bad" language, appropriateness and understandability, and the linguistic forms associated with these especially in an institutionalized context, can be "ideologically regimented" (Blommaert, 2006, p. 519). Ideological regimentation is a historical process in which the norms of a speech community develop over time into a communally held and shared set of expectations of language use,

or as "shared complexes of indexicalities" (Blommaert, 2006, p. 520). In other words, language use is ideologically normative, and the normativity becomes visible in the evaluations of linguistic forms. Over time, specific forms of language use accrue socially recognizable values – they have become "enregistered" into systematically reproduced orders of indexicalities (Silverstein, 2003).

A good example of such an enregistered and widely acknowledged indexical tie is the status and prestige assigned to the use of standard language (Agha, 2003; Milroy, 2001). According to Milroy (2001), people living in "standard language cultures" believe that the language they speak exists as a standardized system. This belief affects speakers' ideas about their own language (thus shaping it *de facto*) and their ideas about languages in general. Although it is typical for people to hold commonsense beliefs about the superiority of certain linguistic forms over others, the reality is that standardization is an effort carried out collectively by the language's speakers (Milroy, 2001) and that the process is naturalized because it is historical (Agha, 2003). The standard language exists by holding some linguistic forms or grammatical structures on a pedestal while undermining the use of others. The standard language requires maintenance through grammars, dictionaries and education, and that institutions take up the standard variety and adopt it as the variety through which they communicate. The reproduction and gradual renewal of the standard language is such a slow process it disguises the active efforts performed in its gradual but constant enregisterment (Agha, 2003; Milroy, 2001). In fact, Woolard and Schieffelin (1994, p. 64) claim that the concept of a standard should more accurately be treated as an "ideological process than as empirical linguistic fact". What then becomes interesting for a student of language ideologies are not the linguistic manifestations of the "standard language", but the processes through which it is constantly maintained, reasserted and renewed.

The study of language ideology has recognized other, commonly held ideologies. Besides the standard language ideology, these include, for example, the one-nation-one-language ideology and the ideology of linguistic purism (Woolard, 1998), i.e. that a language should not adopt influences from other languages. Often these kinds of language ideologies are associated with Saussurean beliefs that regard language as a self-sustaining abstract entity that can be separated from actual usage taking place in everyday interaction (Blommaert, 2006, 2013b). The sociolinguistic analyses that have identified such macro-social ideologies primarily operate by establishing relations between e.g. certain language policies and given language ideologies. These analyses seem to focus only on first order indexicalities that downplay the role of indexical ties created by language users in actual language practices and thus leave the picture somewhat shallow. But, as Silverstein (2003, p. 227) notes, language ideologies should be studied in the "micro-contextual realtime" in order to understand the complex of indexical orders. In this respect, the study of language ideologies and indexicality are always also

investigations of the ways "in which specific linguistic forms are deployed in order to attain the ideological effects" (Blommaert, 2006, p. 519). Analyses that only focus on identifying the existence of ideologies fail to describe their meaning to language users or explain how they come into being in the everyday context of language use.

Today, language ideologies are studied in many linguistics sub-disciplines, such as sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and discourse studies, alongside linguistic anthropology (Mäntynen et al., 2012). While many still consider language ideologies as predominantly macro-level phenomena, there have been calls to move away from these standpoints and instead focus on the way people construe understandings of language in its context of usage (Rosa and Burdick, 2016). According to Rosa and Burdick (2016), this essentially entails that studies adopt ethnographic methodologies. This has meant a shift in the conceptualizations of language ideologies as well. According to Woolard and Schieffelin (1994), the new direction should not consider ideology "as a homogeneous cultural template" but as struggles, contestations and contradictions among multiple conceptualizations of ideological stances. In fact, Silverstein (2003, p. 222) argues that even the "standard" is nothing more than "a particular macro-sociological condition of enregisterment". Instead of only describing what ideologies are prevalent in a given time and space, we should be looking at the processes that have led to the enregisterment or upholding of certain linguistic forms or varieties. By looking at the tensions, conflicts and negotiations through which different language ideologies manifest, the multiplicity of language ideologies becomes apparent, and we begin to see how context affects how certain language ideologies become relevant in different situations.

Which of the ideological centers become evoked in a given communicative event and why – in the context of actual language use – have now become key concerns for the study of language ideologies. Understanding that a multiplicity of language ideologies exists at times harmoniously and at times in conflict with one another creates openings for research to scrutinize how and why ideological perspectives might differ and how some ideologies might gain more scope and force compared to others (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 505). According to Mäntynen et al. (2012), many language ideologies often operate simultaneously in language use and since language is used in different fora and for different purposes, different language ideologies also come to exist side by side, in contrast to or entangled with one another. The intersecting network of language ideologies operates in a polycentric environment (Blommaert, 2010, 2013b). What this means is that in any given communicative event the actions of the people involved are "organized in relation to multiple ideological centers" (Blommaert, 2013b, p. 133). For example, in writing a research article a writer can orient to the ideology of the standard language, but also to ideologies governing the production of a genre or discipline-specific ideals of writing.

The changes in the conceptualizations of language ideology have also meant that the field has begun to undergo a methodological shift in disciplines that have adopted language ideologies as an analytical concept but are not rooted in anthropology (e.g. sociolinguistics, applied linguistics). Through these developments, some scholars have begun to question language ideologies as purely discursive phenomena (Rosa and Burdick, 2016; Kroskrity, 2004). Instead of focusing on the discursive and textual manifestations of language ideologies, attention has shifted to actors, action and the agency through which ideological processes operate (Rosa and Burdick, 2016; Kroskrity, 2004).

Whether or not language ideologies are purely discursive has been a widely debated issue (Kroskrity, 2004) that is not yet settled. However, Kroskrity (1998) suggests that active contestation of ideologies might be more readily available in people's discursive consciousness while highly neutralized and unchallengedly dominant ideologies might become conscious only on the level of practices. Blommaert (2010, p. 9) urges that language ideologies should not be seen solely as voiced metalinguistic comments but as "general ideological complexes operating in different shapes and with different modes of articulation at a variety of levels and on a variety of objects". Studies of language ideologies should thus also include implicit manifestations of ideologies, the ways in which they occur at the "mundane levels of practice" (Blommaert, 2013b, p. 132). For me, this points towards a need 1) to privilege the local or *emic* understandings of language use that occur in relation to the studied practices, 2) to take into account also the ways in which language ideologies manifest implicitly and non-discursively as part of practices, and 3) for linking these to wider social forces and structures. Furthermore, the focus on practices allows the analyst to observe how materiality affects the production, circulation and mediation of beliefs about language (Rosa and Burdick, 2016; Johnson and Milani, 2010). Blommaert (2013b) argues that this type of layered and multidimensional approach needs to be studied ethnographically. In later sections of this chapter, I will show how a similar trend can be observed in a range of research fields relevant for my own study, but first I want to bring into the discussion one more key concept: that of practice.

2.1.4 PRACTICES, PRACTICE THEORIES AND POSTHUMANISM

In the previous two sections, I have outlined how norms of language use and language ideologies have been conceptualized and are thought to affect the way people use language. Both discussions concluded that as analysts we need to study how people actually use language in social situations to communicate with one another, and that in order to understand how these concepts operate, we need to study *practices*.

The concept of practices has for quite a while appeared as a frequently used term in applied linguists' repertoire. Especially in applied linguistics *practice*

is typically referred to as either the opposite of theory or as rehearsing (Pennycook, 2010). Pennycook (2010, p. 22), however, sees the concept of language practices having further potential in explaining the role language plays in our social life. He argues that its current use in applied linguistics leaves the concept under-theorized and thus some of the avenues unexplored that a more thorough conceptualization could open.

Social practices have, however, been extensively theorized in other fields, and hence I will now map out some of the ways in which practices have been conceptualized by social scientists. During the last half century, many fields in the social sciences and humanities have increasingly turned to practices as their "primary object of study" (Rouse, 2006, p. 499). According to Rouse (2006, p. 499), the concept of practices has been adopted into studies ranging from the "most mundane aspects of everyday life to highly structured activities in institutional settings". Various scholars (e.g. Schatzki, 2001, 2002; Reckwitz, 2002; Shove, Pantzar and Watson, 2012) have proposed conceptualizations to define what practices are. Practices have been central to many intellectual lines of inquiry, but I will only discuss the works of those scholars whose research has direct bearing on my own.

On general terms, practice theories, as the name suggests, place the social within practices and treat them as the "smallest unit" of social analysis (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249). Reckwitz (2002 p. 244) notes that, ultimately, practice theories are a form of cultural theory that aims to explain and understand action. Different cultural theories vary in how they understand and locate the social, as well as in the ways they conceptualize the "smallest unit" of social theory: "in minds, discourses, interactions and 'practices'" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 245).

In his theorization of social practices, Reckwitz (2002, p. 249) describes practices as routinized behavior consisting of "forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge". Practices are "blocks" that are irreducible to any of the single elements that comprise them, e.g. translation cannot be reduced solely to an act of conducting a concordance search, but instead forms a pattern of individual actions that reproduce the practice. In this sense all the individual actions that the translator engages in, reading the text they have been commissioned to translate, using dictionaries, online resources and the concordance search and writing out the translation, etc., together comprise the practice of translation. The single individuals, in this case the translators and language revisors, act as "bodily and mental agents" and as "carriers of a practice" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 250). What Reckwitz (2002, p. 250) means by this is that agents are carriers of patterned bodily behavior and routinized ways of understanding, knowing and desiring. Importantly, Reckwitz (2002, p. 250) notes that "[t]hese conventionalized 'mental' activities of understanding, knowing how and desiring are necessary elements and qualities of a practice in which the single individual participates, not qualities of the individual".

Schatzki (2002, p. 88) argues that a practice is a "nexus of doings and sayings" that is governed by "practical intelligibility" that specifies what a person does and that it makes sense for others, i.e. that it is intelligible also for others potentially observing the doings and sayings. Moreover, Schatzki (2002, p. 75) adds that practices prescribe actions and ends as correct or acceptable and the practical intelligibility that governs activity can be to a certain degree determined by normativity. But importantly, Schatzki (2002) stresses that intelligibility and normativity are not the same thing. In other words, people can operate on the basis of a practical understanding of how things work without any of the actions being normatively "enjoined" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 75). For Reckwitz (2002, p. 253) the knowledge practices encompass is a specific way of making sense of the world, it "is largely implicit and largely historically-culturally specific", as well as "collective, shared knowledge". Practices also entail "a particular routinized mode of intentionality", by which Reckwitz (2002, p. 254) means that actors have motives that drive them towards certain goals and that make them avoid others.

Reckwitz (2002, p. 250) states that a practice is "a routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood". Practices as bodily action imply two things; first that a practice is "the regular, skilful 'performance' of (human) bodies", and second that bodily activities also entail "routinized mental and emotional activities which are – on a certain level – bodily, as well" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 251). Reckwitz (2002, p. 251) claims that these routinized bodily performances are the site of the social and thus the origin of *social order*. The way bodily activities are organized, necessarily also entails an engagement with the material world, and thus, as Reckwitz (2002, p. 252) notes, that objects are just as essential for many practices as the bodily and mental activities. "Things" mould the social, as well as produce and reproduce social order in stable constellations or arrangements (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 253; Schatzki, 2002).

In practice theories, discursive practices are one type of practice among others, and similarly to other practices, they too contain "bodily patterns, routinized mental activities – forms of understanding, know-how (here including grammar and pragmatic rules of use), and motivation – and above all, objects (from sounds to computers) that are linked to each other" (Reckwitz, 2002, pp. 254–255). Reckwitz (2002, p. 255) stresses that in practice theories, language does not exist as anything else besides the routinized use through which people ascribe particular meanings to particular objects, forming those into "signs" that are then used to make sense of other objects, and most importantly, to do things. However, as Shove et al. (2012, p. 3) note, even if people are capable of discursively making sense of their actions, i.e. explain what they do and why, there is a great deal of practical knowledge that escapes the discursive consciousness because of the routinization of social life.

As noted above, social order exists in routinized practices in which actors engage in repetitive bodily and mental action together with objects. But routines can also be broken and changed, which necessarily means shifts in the arrangements. For Reckwitz (2002, p. 255), these shifts occur when the carriers of a practice face a crisis in which "constellations of interpretative interdeterminacy" and inadequacy of the existing knowledge force the changes upon the practice. Shove et al. (2012) suggest a simple explanation that takes into account both the temporal stability of practices and their constant potential for change. Shove et al. (2012, p. 22–23) take Reckwitz's "catalogue" (2002, p. 249, cf. above) as their starting point and suggest a simpler scheme based on three elements: material (objects, infrastructures, tools, hardware and the body itself), competence (multiple forms of understanding and practical knowledgeability) and meaning (the social and symbolic significance of participation at any one moment). Especially the last one, Shove et al. (2012, p. 23) claim, causes much controversy in theories of social practices. For Schatzki (2002, p. 83), all practices are organized through "teleo-affective structure", meaning that they entail ends, projects, tasks, as well as emotions that are not pregiven, but open-ended, which creates a potential for change. This means that practices are future oriented, that they, at the same time, evoke the history of action and form a setting for future action within the same performance (Schatzki, 2010).

Shove et al. (2012, p. 24) bypass the emphasis on ends as a driving force for practices and instead see meaning as purely one element of practices. They use the forementioned three elements (materials, competence and meaning) to explain how practices can change over time. They (2012, p. 24) argue that the elements need to be linked to one another, that these links need to be renewed, and that the integration in itself can cause transformations that lead to new competences, meanings and materialities. They note that "stability and routinization are not end points of a linear process of normalization" but repeated and ongoing accomplishments of integrating similar elements in similar ways (2012, p. 24). These arrangements are constantly in the "process of formation, re-formation and de-formation", but the elements are more stable and because of that, able to circulate more easily from one place and time to the other (Shove et al. 2012, p. 44). In other words, the elements have more potential for endurance and often outlast practices.

While Shove et al. (2012) are interested in understanding the dynamics of social practice as a tool for promoting transitions in practice (e.g. policy changes or changes in behavior), Reckwitz (2002, p. 257) sees practice theories as also having incremental value in and of themselves. These theories allow us to define our own position in the world and do so by understanding the ethical and political dimensions that the definitions entail (Reckwitz, 2002). The theories of practice also challenge our modern view of the highly rational and intellectual human agency as they "decenter mind, texts and conversation" and zoom in on "bodily movements, things, practical knowledge and routines" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 259).

But what do the practice theories say about language? How does language become part of the social, where does it fit in? Rouse (2006, p. 535) argues that we need to understand language itself as a social practice, and that there is no need to draw a boundary between discursive and non-discursive practices. Pennycook (2010, p. 9) argues that "[p]ractices prefigure activities, so it is the ways in which language practices are molded by social, cultural, discursive and historical precedents and concurrent contexts that become central to any understanding of language". The activities that are performed in practices are produced and regulated by the social and cultural conditions, i.e. in the locally and historically produced context (Pennycook, 2010; Blommaert, 2005). The activities carried out as part of social practices are routinized and habituated, they are coherently organized and mediated around shared "practical understanding", by which Schatzki (2002, p. 77) means abilities that make practice-comprising actions possible. In my understanding, activities alone do not comprise practices. Instead, (language) activities carried out in constellations that integrate competence, materials and meaning in socially intelligible and recognizable ways form the empirically observable constituents of practices. In translation these abilities would be knowing how to translate, knowing what translation is like and how to use tools, produce favorable conditions and relevant responses to translations (see also Olohan, 2021). In other words, practical understanding of translation is knowing what actions to carry out as meaningful performances of translation.

How does a translator know what kind of language to produce when translating? How do translators know what to do in order for it to be counted as translation and not as something else? Pennycook (2010, p. 29) argues that it is because social practices, such as translation and authors' editing (or language teaching and policy-making, etc.), "mediate between social structure and individual action". The individual actions are never truly individual since they are historical and contextual. Pennycook (2010, p. 29) claims that practices operate on a meso-level, "above the level of activity and below the level of social order, as mediators of how things are done". Practices should be seen as "prefigured meso-political activity" (Pennycook 2010, p. 133), and this understanding should guide us to ask how we purposefully use language to achieve different ends. In order to understand and deal with issues that arise from the everyday life of various language practitioners, language use should be seen as socially, historically and politically constituted acts.

Studying language practices as a meso-political and material, meaningfully entangled constellation of activities means we need to incorporate a broad frame of analysis. We need to understand the locality of language use as perspectival, as "local meanings of language", and the ways in which these are "grounded in local ways of thinking" (Pennycook 2010, p. 10). Furthermore, we need to understand how these local ways of thinking are bound by the material conditions and consequences of language use, and how all of these come together to comprise practices that then come to prefigure the language use of individual actors.

But how do the repeated everyday actions comprising language practices, such as the things we read and write, translate or language revise, become political? Pennycook argues that the everyday use of language needs to be re-examined, not solely by providing exhaustive descriptions of language practices, but by investigating the material and political consequences of the ways in which people employ linguistic resources. As Pennycook (2010, p. 6) reminds us, "[t]he ways in which languages are described, legislated for and against, policed and taught have major effects on many people" – i.e., language use is consequential. Pennycook (2010, p. 115) claims that in order to be able to see the politics of the everyday language use we need "the emic lenses of anthropology as much as the etic lenses of sociology" and that "we need to fill in the ethnographic background" (p. 128). In other words we need to understand the local, historical, political and material conditions inscribed into practices (see also Blommaert, 2005).

These interests in practices and materiality have now accumulated into a body of research that has been labeled language materiality (Shankar and Cavanaugh, 2012). Language materiality focuses on how language use always involves the body and material (soundwaves, artefacts) through which language comes to be produced or taken up, as well as how language and material get entangled in processes of value-formation and commodification. Drawing on similar ideas, Pennycook (2018) has introduced the idea of posthumanist applied linguistics that questions the basic premises of humanism, such as agency as human ability alone and reconsiders the role of objects and space in human cognition and action and their potential for enhancing human performance in practices that are of interest in applied linguistics. Posthumanism as a more general theoretical-philosophical methodology also implies a critical questioning of the human ability to wield control over other beings (animate or inanimate), and instead urges us to see how humanity may be subjected to control imposed by those traditionally perceived as others, such as nature, other living beings or technology (Nayar, 2013, p. 13). From these standpoints we can begin to ask, for example, what does language policy-making mean if we take into account that things, too, could have agency? Can technology regulate the way we use language? Drawing on ideas put forward by Pennycook, I introduce a few points that I think help us answer these questions.

Drawing from the fields of extended and distributed cognition Pennycook (2018, p. 42) points out that our cognition, particularly when we are engaged in activities, includes "material anchors" (see also Reckwitz, 2012, p. 248). For example, the books we read or the tools we use are part of our thinking, not solely conceptual resources or representations in our minds. These anchors need to be understood as existing independently – as resources our thinking physically draws on or is outsourced to at the moments in time we engage with them. Pennycook (2018, p. 43) explains that the idea that part of our thinking can be outsourced to things suggests, first of all that thinking is spatial, i.e. not confined to our minds, and secondly, drawing on Latour (1999), that cognition

should be thought of as distributed. In fact, Latour (2005) and Bennet (2010) go even further and suggest that things not only distribute our cognition but could be conceptualized as having agency on their own. Pennycook (2018, p. 43) argues that

> [f]rom a posthumanist point of view, we can start to think of language, cognition and agency not merely as distributed across different people but rather as distributed beyond human boundaries and as playing an active role in a world that is not limited to human activity alone.

The questions we can begin to ask from this starting point are how things become part of our cognition or, more generally, a practice. In translation studies there is a long tradition of asking questions such as how a translation memory or a word processing software participate in translation, how are they assigned or take on meaning (e.g. Cronin, 2003; Buzelin, 2005, 2007; Olohan, 2011, Ruokonen and Koskinen, 2017; Alonso and Calvo, 2015). By incorporating perspectives from academic literacy studies, research on language regulation and language policy, I contribute to these discussions by adding another layer that depicts how both human and non-human actors participate in acts of language regulation and show how institutionalized language work can be conceptualized as a meso-level language political activity in which materiality has a crucial role to play.

Another interesting idea in language materiality and posthumanist applied linguistics relates to the conceptualization of competence. From these standpoints, competence is not an individual property but, just like agency, distributed across a variety of actors. Both Pennycook (2018) and Canagarajah (2018) conceptualize language competence through "spatial repertoires" i.e. language distributed across people, space and artefacts. For example, seeing communication as an unfolding and distributed activity that takes into account the role of bodies and objects that could guide our attention to moments of mutual misunderstanding – to the moments in which communication breaks, and encourage us to ask, what role does language have here? How does it become part of the unfolding activity? Pennycook (2018, p. 131) argues that it might be beneficial to see communication, not as understanding or misunderstanding, but as "a series of adjustments, interpretations, connections, affiliations and adaptations, or what we might call *attunements*". Pennycook (2018, p. 131 emphasis original) argues that the use of English in global communication awards opportunities for using the language to "*dis*communicate", to strategically misunderstand in order to keep the status quo by preventing communication. Language regulation, too, can most definitely be seen as a tool for guarding the interests of those in power. For example, in English-medium academic publishing, misunderstanding can be used to strategically undermine epistemological positionings, challenge methodological choices or rule out competition by disguising these less noble stances for critique as "problems with the English".

But maybe language regulation could have other, less oppressing functions. Steffensen and Fill (2014, p. 18) claim that language is not an "instrument for externalising thought or for communicating", but instead it affords "realtime, interbodily coordination that enables us to achieve results that are unreachable for a single human body or person". Maybe part of the ends of language regulation is to ensure the *coordination of action*, that actors taking part in a practice share similar practical understandings about what it is that they are doing and why. Pennycook (2018, p. 105) claims that forsaking the premise that communication equals understanding and rather embracing a view of communication as a "process of alignment" makes us better equipped to understand what is actually going on as people interact with one another. For Pennycook (2018, p. 105) this also implies that communication itself, in all forms, becomes possible only through "a series of negotiations and adjustments". Canagarajah (2007, p. 94) similarly notes that while actors engaged in communication "do their own thing" they align themselves to each other and "[e]ach brings his or her own language resources to find a strategic fit with the participants and purpose of a context". From this perspective, translation, authors' editing and the language regulation they inherently entail, could be seen as a strategic attunement of communication with the help of multiple actors to arrive at shared ends.

The questions that arise are: how does the attunement happen in translation and authors' editing, what are these responsibilities in the process of communication and how are they distributed in the wider networks of academic publication and communication practices of academic institutions. Brigstocke and Noorani (2016, p. 1–2) argue that focusing on attunement allows us to see "new ways of collaborating with, listening to, and granting authority to new kinds of voices, including more-than-human life and forms of material agency". Translators and language revisors along with the tools they use, whose contributions to communication often go unnoticed and unacknowledged, bring new voices to the study of language regulation, language policy and academic literacies.

Before moving on to discuss existing lines of inquiry on academic literacies, language policy and language professionals, I would like to illustrate my own understanding of the central concepts and theories employed in this thesis. In Figure 1 I take Shove et al.'s (2012) three-fold division (practices as configurations of materials, meaning and competence, depicted in the inner circle in Figure 1) as my starting point and establish links between the elements and the central concepts discussed in this section (depicted in the outer circle in Figure 1).

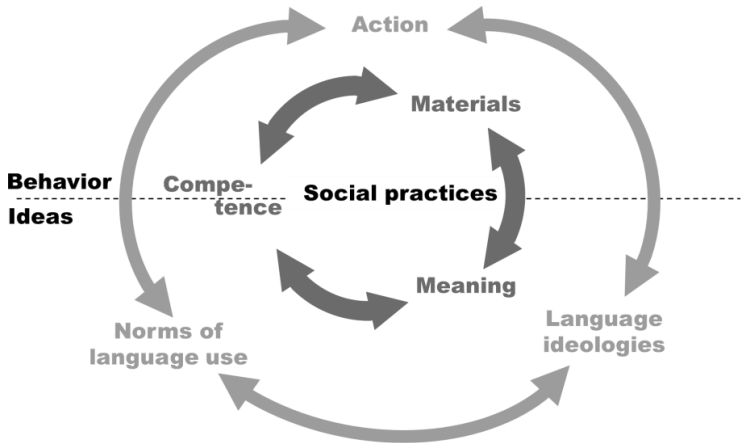


Figure 1 *Central concepts and their relation to one another*

In Figure 1, social practices are understood as the central unit of investigation. The placements of the concepts in Figure 1 depict how I perceive these conceptualizations relating to one another, as well as how I see these as empirically observable and thus investigable phenomena. I will begin to unpack Figure 1 by explaining the way I understand the element of meaning in Shove et al.'s (2012) list. In language-based social practices, the meanings assigned to the practice draw on language ideologies, the rationalizations construed for language use, and because of this I understand both meaning and language ideologies primarily as ideational phenomena, although they are necessarily mapped onto behavior through actions that draw on practical understandings. The second element, competence, I understand both as ideas about normativity as well as the ability to act as a carrier of a social practice, i.e. to perform meaningful acts as part of a practice. Hence, it falls under both behavioral and ideational phenomena. Finally, action is the primary means through which all the other aspects become observable. Language ideologies and norms of language use can be observed through bodily movements and forms of doing, or alternatively, they can be discursively construed in talk, which of course is also action. Action is the level on which language regulation becomes observable. Action is closely related to the element of materials, as it is the tools and resources – and their affordances and constraints – through which action becomes possible. The affordances and constraints of materials also feed into the other elements and give rise to new meanings and new forms of competence. A practical example in my data would be when the affordances of translation software give rise to new meanings for translation in the unit (e.g. the need to standardize language), and how the meanings travel into the forms of competence required of the translators in both knowing how to use the tools and when they should be used in translation.

2.2 RESEARCH FIELDS

In this section, I want to establish the relevant lines of inquiry that I see my work mostly drawing on. This section briefly outlines the history and development of language policy studies, academic literacy studies and relevant earlier research on translation and authors' editing.

2.2.1 ACADEMIC LITERACY STUDIES

Even though I identify myself as a researcher of writing, a more fitting description of my focus in the thesis is that I investigate processes of *rewriting*. That being said, I find the works of Lillis and Curry (2006, 2010, 2015), Blommaert (2013a), Canagarajah (2018) and Tusting et al. (2019) on academic writing highly relevant for my research. Firstly, all of these studies develop an understanding of literacy through ethnographic inquiry. Secondly, they view literacy as a social practice that involves multiple actors, is multisited and involves intersecting sites of production and frames of evaluation, as well as various resources used in writing. These studies on writing draw on social sciences in their understanding of practices and take into account the implications this understanding entails. I argue that many of them could also be described as drawing on materialism and posthumanism. I will begin the discussion by a brief mapping of the developments of the field.

The study of academic literacies has grown alongside the ever-increasing need for institutions of higher education to internationalize. With the flow of international students, teacher-researchers have become interested in how students come to learn and be able to put into practice the skills needed in higher education. Lillis and Scott claim (2008, p. 9) that especially "[s]tudent writing – rather than other language or literacy activities – has been at the top of the language agenda in expanding higher education contexts, both in public outcries and in teacher-researcher responses". They note that writing, instead of the other forms of literacy, continues to be the main form of assessment in higher education warranting its centralized role in literacy research. Lillis and Scott (2008) criticize much of the research on student writing as too *text* based and call for a more *practice* oriented perspective. Academic literacies research has, since the 90s, begun to shift focus more towards this direction and has been influenced by anthropology, critical discourse studies and sociology of knowledge (Lillis and Scott, 2008, p. 11).

As research on academic literacies has moved to a more practice-oriented approach, researchers interested in literacy have begun to adopt ethnography to study the ways in which students engage with texts and writing practices. This has shifted the focus more towards the production of texts and how participants understand both texts and their production instead of the textual products of writing produced by students (Lillis and Scott, 2008). Literacy studies distinguish between "literacy events" and "literacy practices" (Barton

and Hamilton, 2000). "Events" are the empirically observable moments in which actors engage with texts while "practices" include not only doing literacy (reading, writing) as an activity, but also the ideologies, behavioral patterns, values and the overall socio-historical context that influences the process (Tusting et al., 2019, p. 12; Tusting, Wilson and Ivanič, 2000, p. 212–213). This distinction reflects the understanding of practices established in section 2.1.4.

In addition, as an attempt to understand what is at stake as students aspire to engage in academic writing, there has been an interest in studying the disciplinary and institutional practices of writing by professional writers already firmly established (or on their way to becoming so) in academia. This shift in focus has brought with it an understanding of writing as a social practice, as networked activity that is characterized by the multiplicity of actors taking part in the practice of writing in academia (Lillis and Scott, 2008; see also Burrough-Boenisch, 2003 on the "shapers" of English-medium research writing). This new understanding has questioned the previously taken-for-granted assumptions about competence in writing and its implications for pedagogy. As Lillis and Curry (2010, p. 61) note, "[e]vidence of the significance of different kinds of network activity – in which scholars engage locally and transnationally – calls into question the predominant focus on individual competence in EAP (English for academic purposes) and academic writing research and pedagogy more widely". As such, this understanding clearly reflects the understanding of competence as distributed across actors taking part in writing (see also Canagarajah, 2018). Based on this understanding, many researchers now align themselves with what has been called the sociolinguistics of writing (Lillis, 2013; Blommaert, 2013a). This perspective privileges the analysis of the writing process and acknowledges the role of different participants, who become part of the writing at different stages and through different roles, and who operate under the constraints and affordances of varying material conditions (for examples, see e.g., Solin and Hynninen, 2018; Hynninen 2020; Hynninen, 2021; Lillis and Curry, 2010).

One of the most influential studies derived from this strand of academic literacy studies is Lillis and Curry's (2010) study on the English-medium academic publication practices of scholars positioned outside the Anglophone center. Based on their extensive ethnographic research, they distinguish between different types of actors who come to mediate English-medium academic publication. Lillis and Curry (2010) introduce the term "literacy brokering", referring to all kinds of interventions directly introduced into the text by someone other than the named author(s) during the text production process that comprise the writing and publication practices of scholarly manuscripts. In their analysis, Lillis and Curry identified two types of literacy brokers. One of the two types are "academic brokers" who work at universities and offer assistance either as "general academics", "disciplinary experts" or "subdisciplinary specialists". Academic brokers are academic colleagues, peer reviewers and editors who intervene in text production pre- and post-submission. The other type are language brokers who are called on primarily

for their linguistic knowledge. Lillis and Curry (2010, p. 93) identify as language brokers those who are translators, proofreaders, English language teachers and family members and friends. A common denominator is that these actors, unlike academic brokers, are often (though not always) paid for the work they do for the author. I will return to discuss this study in section 2.2.3, since its relevance for my own research stems especially from the role they assign to language professionals.

Lillis and Curry (2010) see academic writing as a social practice, i.e. networked activity in which different actors come to take part. Their analysis brings forward the often unacknowledged but essential actors in academic publishing. Literacy brokers are described as resources in the production and publication of scholarly manuscripts, and while reference to material resources, such as access to libraries or databases, are made as passing mentions, on the whole Lillis and Curry (2010), almost exclusively, focus on networks as *human resources*. Blommaert (2013a) offers an alternative point of departure. He, too, takes as his starting point "a complex of specific resources", but the resources Blommaert is referring to could be described as leaning more heavily on the socio-material side of writing (2013a, p. 440). Blommaert (2013a, p. 440) explains that there are several specific resources involved in writing, and that in order to understand how writing operates we need to distinguish the resources from one another. The resources listed include technological/infrastructural (material infrastructure: pen, paper, computer, library, databases, academic peer groups), graphic (the capacity to order writing visually in normatively "correct" ways: orthography, spelling), linguistic (language or variety employed to write: morphosyntactic and grammatical norms), semantic, pragmatic and metapragmatic (indexical language use: appropriateness, coherence, fluency, adequacy, i.e. the general communicability of texts), to social and cultural (social and cultural conventions of meaning-making: genre, register).

This, he describes, is an attempt "to dis-assemble writing into more specific sets of resources and competences", a move he claims needs to be made so that any of the resources could be successfully deployed in acts of writing (Blommaert, 2013a, p. 444). Blommaert (2013a, p. 440) argues that for us to be able to more precisely diagnose "problems" in writing, we need to understand these resources as a "'sub-molecular' structure of writing" that "is subject to different patterns of distribution, leading to specific configurations of writing resources in people's repertoires". In this respect, Lillis and Curry (2010) address only a fraction, albeit a highly consequential part, of the network of resources needed to produce and publish scholarly manuscripts. Blommaert (2013a) argues that especially the technological/infrastructural resources are often overlooked because they are taken for granted. Blommaert (2013a, p. 442) asserts that "[a] mature sociolinguistics of writing" should take into account how specific resources for writing are distributed across acts of writing and what forms of competence is needed in order to make the texts understandable to others.

Currently, there is a shift in academic literacy studies that has led to the adoption of a wider conceptualization of resources and competence (Canagarajah, 2018) and an engagement with socio-material theory (e.g. Tusting et al., 2019). In his study on the academic writing of STEM scholars, Canagarajah (2018, p. 289) postulates competence as an assemblage that is distributed in "social, material and semiotic networks" that requires drawing on these resources and engagement in constant negotiation and attunement to the communicative situation. This understanding of competence obstructs the linear and cumulative development in which writing competence is seen as spawning from oral competence, a view of successful communication as drawing from one single language code alone and detached from spatial, nonverbal and material resources for language use. Instead, Canagarajah (2018) conceptualizes competence as active "alignment", as attempts to employ a diverse set of resources to achieve intended meanings.

Tusting et al., (2019, p. 1) focus particularly on changing communication technologies, on increased "managerialism" in academia and their role in academic writing in UK universities. These they term as the "socio-material aspects of writing" (Tusting et al., 2019, p. 2) that come to influence and co-ordinate academic writing practices. Their methodology entailed ethnographic documentation of everyday writing practices in academia. They not only focused on the writing of prestigious genres, such as scholarly articles and manuscripts, but also, for example, on the production of teaching and marketing material, administrative writing and emails. Tusting et al. (2019) note how increased internationalization, commodification and competition have come to impact the genres academics are expected to produce and the hybridity of the genres the academics produce. Tusting et al. (2019) discuss how meanings are "inscribed" into texts and how they come to determine how the texts are used, as well as the ways in which the human and non-human get entangled in the social practices of writing. These include the affordances created by physical spaces, material resources and networks with various stakeholders. They discuss how new digital tools and resources create affordances for collaboration and knowledge sharing. From a socio-material perspective, they see knowledge production as distributed across a range of writing practices, writing itself as dispersed across different spatiotemporal locations and technologies for writing. In addition, they understand the entanglement of the material and social also creating affordances for writing.

Out of the interesting lines of inquiry opened up by these studies, I will pick up especially the threads in which writing and the competence it entails are understood as distributed across human as well as non-human actors. I will participate in these discussions by analyzing the practices the translators and language revisors carry out and that take place in an institutionalized context. I will focus on the materiality of these practices by analyzing how the material and social are entangled in the practices of translation and authors' editing. In addition, I will discuss the materiality of these practices in relation to the internationalization and commodification of academia. Especially the latter

theme becomes pronounced in the chapters that focus on translation (5 and 6). In these two chapters I integrate ideas developed in research on language ideologies, academic literacy studies, language policy studies and translation studies. In these chapters I conceptualize translation as language regulation – as manipulation of language through which the translators control how the university portrays itself in its English-medium outreach. This move allows me to show how, in a stable and highly institutionalized context, the everyday development and maintenance of language quality through translation can be seen as a form of language policy-making. In the following section, I will review research carried out in language policy studies, a field that explicitly focuses on ways in which language use is controlled.

2.2.2 LANGUAGE POLICY STUDIES

Language policy, or as it is sometimes called, language policy and planning (LPP), as a field comprises various theoretical and methodological approaches. Due to this, the field is currently engaged in an ongoing debate about what counts as language policy (Johnson, 2013). Johnson (2013) argues that, traditionally, language policies have been viewed as official documents or other types of regulation that emanate from governments, laws, or other authorities. These have been studied through historical-textual analyses that aim to uncover the policy agents' intentions from the texts and discourses they have produced (Johnson, 2013). Later research has understood language policies more inclusively as comprising also of language practices and language ideologies or beliefs about language use (Spolsky, 2004). Such an inclusive definition of language policies has also created a need to more explicitly conceptualize the relationship between language policies (as official regulations) and their relation to the other two components Spolsky (2004) has famously conceptualized as language policies; these are the cognitive (beliefs and ideologies) and behavioral (practices) components. For example, Ajšić and McGroarty (2015) argue that ideologies can lay the groundwork for policies or policies can be interpreted through ideological lenses, and thus sees language ideologies and language policies as closely connected but independent concepts. McCarty (2011), on the other hand, sees language practices as potentially encompassing language-regulating mechanisms, but not being ones in and of themselves.

These conceptual disagreements are most likely a result of the various theoretical and methodological approaches that have been adopted by scholars interested in language policies. The earlier theoretical underpinnings concentrating on the analysis of the "macro", i.e. on the role of texts and *de jure*, official policies most likely originates from the fact that, traditionally, LPP data collection focused on the study of different kinds of policy texts and their histories (Johnson, 2013, p. 124). Johnson (2013, p. 96) argues that the traditional LPP studies adopt a "technocratic perspective" to understand language policy implementation. Blommaert (2013b, p.126) claims that the

formal policy should not be the primary focus no matter how intriguing the discourses might be. What we should be most interested in are the "wide variety of policing practices aimed at keeping or restoring 'order'" (Blommaert, 2013b, p. 126). The aforementioned macro perspective privileges conceptualizing language policy processes as emanating from above and underlines the role of policymakers while obscuring the ways in which grassroots actors or "micro" policy agents engage with the policy or even form bottom-up policies of their own. The data and methods that have led to the traditional conceptualization of language policy as a top-down process homogenize potentially differing agentive intentionalities at the expense of expressions of contestation and risk reproducing the existing hegemonic language ideologies even if the attempt is to critique them (for a more thorough discussion on critical methods, see Blommaert, 2005). In recent decades, studies adopting an ethnographic perspective, to the study of language policy have begun to challenge the traditional views (e.g. McCarty, 2011; Hult, 2010; Hornberger, 2000, 2002; Menken and García, 2010). These studies establish a whole range of activities through which actors engage with policies, such as appropriation, ignorance and resistance, and have shown how these activities are also relevant to policy processes.

This body of literature in language policy studies has adopted an ethnographic approach to the study of language policy processes, and studies emanating from this line of inquiry have been sometimes referred to as ethnographies of language policy (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007; Johnson, 2013). These studies bring to the forefront grassroots actors, the ones who are being "policed" and thus affected by LPP decisions the most, and their reactions to and interpretations of the policies. Data collected in these ethnographies of language policy consist of holistic accounts of ways in which actors engage with or develop language policies (Johnson, 2013). Data includes e.g. document data and interviews, but also thick descriptions of language practices. The focus on practices through the analysis of systematic participant observation data has begun to open avenues to capture language practices in everyday use (Gilmore, 2011). Menken and García (2010, p. 3) even claim that we will never truly understand language policies without studying practices. The focus on practices allows researchers to not only look at contexts where policies have been established, but also those in which people claim no policies exist (Hult, 2015, p. 220). In these studies, the focus shifts from established official *de jure* policies to how things are done *de facto* (Hult, 2015, p. 222). The studies incorporating a practice perspective suggest that there are agentive roles in policy processes that do not become observable through talk but instead through practices, allowing us to see the "everyday language policy in action" (Gilmore, 2011, p. 125). Ethnographies of language policy have shown that language policy agents are not only the implementers but also the appropriators who enact, resist or interpret the policies in their language practices.

Ethnographies of language policy have been valuable in promoting a more multidimensional image of both language policy processes and language policy agents. Bonacina (2010, p. 40, emphasis original), however, argues that still, "language practices are systematically interpreted with regard to a language policy determined *outside* interaction", by which she means that language practices are typically still seen as reflecting language policies, not originating them. Bonacina (2010) studied classroom interaction and identified language policies with a conversation analytical (CA) methodological apparatus. In principle, her argument is that LPP studies, even with a focus on the microlevel, emphasize the role of language policies as *text* or *discourse* (Ball, 1993) and how actors engage with them, not how practices could be conceptualized as policies themselves. According to Bonacina, a third categorization, policy as practice, can be identified on the level of interaction. Bonacina (2010; Bonacina-Pugh 2012, 2017) adopts Spolsky's (2004) third conceptualization of language policy as her starting point to show how actors make decisions over language choice during interaction, and that these decisions operate as "practiced language policies". The key difference compared to the earlier conceptualizations lies in that Bonacina does not see practiced language policies necessarily as echoes of or reactions to policies as text or discourse, but as "practical social action" in and of themselves (2010, p. 111). Furthermore, in her analysis she found that the institutional roles of the participants, such as teacher and pupil, were not fixed but rather emergent in interactional practices. In other words, the interactants adopt identities through the roles they take on as they take part in the interaction. Roles become "something that people do" not something people are (Bonacina, 2010, p. 183). Of course, these findings echo the epistemology of CA, but I find the implications in the ideas Bonacina-Pugh puts forward an intriguing point of departure for a more ethnographic study on language policy processes in language work carried out by language professionals.

In her analysis of practiced language policies in an educational context, Bonacina-Pugh analyzed policies as an interactional phenomenon. The emergence of policies through interaction reflects how CA understands social order to be produced – in interaction. Aligning myself with Blommaert (2005), I find the premises of CA to some degree problematic because of the methodological assertions that overlook contextualization and what Blommaert (2005) calls the *historicity* of discourse. Blommaert (2005, pp. 100–103) draws from Foucault and Williams and argues that any piece of discourse is intrinsically historical, indexical and entextualized – discourse is always situational and contextual, and the ability to produce understandable utterances and one's voice in a way that produces desirable uptake always involves historical positioning. The roles people adopt and the identities they perform are cultural, historical and political. Individual pieces of discourse make connections between "micro-events" and "macro-relations", and Blommaert (2005, p. 99) argues that we cannot overlook either of them.

The social practices of translation and authors' editing operate predominantly in the written mode, in an institutional context, and thus the practices the language professionals engage in, their ways of translating and authors' editing have accrued *historicity*. The textual products produced in these practices are likely to be subjected to evaluations from a range of different audiences, because the communication can be "relocalized" (Pennycook, 2013) and are crafted keeping their uptake in mind. The practiced policies the translators and language revisors execute cannot be as "emergent" as the ones found by Bonacina-Pugh, or rather they can be, but their emergence is much more gradual. In translation and authors' editing, the practiced policies are stable because of their historicity and because agency in the practices has been distributed across multiple human and non-human actors, especially so in the case of translation. In addition, the aggregate of people's backgrounds in a school context is often more haphazard (especially pupils' not necessarily teachers') and the resources different actors have at their disposal can vary greatly, at least when compared to the community of translators and language revisors that have been recruited and thus accepted as part of the community precisely because of their background, knowledge and competences. While we can observe policies emerging from practices and actors adopting different roles according to what they are doing as part of the practice both contexts (classroom interaction and institutionalized language work), because of differences in historicity, different things grab the analysts' attention. For Bonacina-Pugh, the emergent nature of policy might be more pronounced while for me, because of my methodological choices, what becomes more central are the ways of doing things and how practiced language policies become routinized, traditional, institutional and accrue force beyond the immediate community.

Not all Bonacina-Pugh's arguments have been accepted at face value in LPP studies. While her findings have been welcomed as intriguing, the pronounced role of practices has made some scholars return to the foundational debates in the field. For example, Hornberger and Johnson (2011 as a reaction to Bonacina, 2010) fear that taking off emphasis from the macro level policy texts blurs the connection between *de jure* and *de facto* policies. They worry that loosening up definitions of language policy runs the risk of making it an all-encompassing concept into which nearly all sociolinguistic phenomena could be grouped. Essentially their worries boil down to the underlying question: if practices are included in the definition of language policy, then "what *isn't* language policy?" (Hornberger and Johnson, 2011, p. 285, emphasis original). Johnson (2013, pp. 94–95) argues that while for him it is evident that "language practices can reflect, illuminate, instantiate, appropriate, and create new language policies", he calls for transparent descriptions of why language policies should be defined through language practices: "what conceptual, theoretical, or methodological advantage does this afford us in language policy research?"

I suspect that at least part of the reason why the focus on practiced language policies stirs antagonistic or hesitant responses might spring from a set of background assumptions that need to be carefully opened up before claiming that understanding practices as language policies obscures the concept into an all-encompassing empty term. First of all, many of the studies that provide an ethnographic account of language policy processes do so by looking near-exclusively at practices in an educational context, which has been noted by various scholars earlier (e.g. Lønsmann and Mortensen, 2018; Hultgren, 2014; Mortensen, 2014; Hult and Källkvist, 2015, Martin-Jones, 2015, but cf. Lønsmann and Kraft, 2018; Barakos, 2016; Duchêne and Heller, 2012a; Nekvapil and Nekula, 2008; Burrough-Boenisch, 2008).

This has consequences for our understanding of what language policies are since schools are a central setting for the reproduction of social order (Bourdieu, 1991). Education institutionalizes children as citizens through practices that are predominantly language based. Furthermore, educational contexts are centrally governed through policy-making practices, i.e. policies governing what subjects and knowledge to teach in what languages, are established top-down (although, as ethnographies of language policy have shown, local actors do effectively interpret and appropriate policies locally). It is methodologically problematic to draw theoretical implications about what language policies are from settings where the role of one conceptualization, i.e. the *de jure* language policies or policies as *text* (Ball, 1993), is such a central way of establishing order. In the LaRA-project we have decided to adopt the concept of *language regulation* that does not privilege any pre-established form of policy-making above others, but begins by zooming in on the logic and motives of local actors, and makes claims about what regulation is on the basis of local understandings. Furthermore, studies of language regulation do not set out to study contexts in which predetermined types of language regulation are presumed to occur but assumes regulation to be part of language use across contexts. By first and foremost focusing on institutionalized practices, such as writing, translation, authors' editing and administrative policy-making, we are able to explore what language regulation means for a range of actors across a variety of different practices, and how social order is produced through language regulation – with or without official policies.

Secondly, I see Hornberger and Johnson's critique falling for the same mis- or under-conceptualizations of language practices that Pennycook (2010) sees happening in other fields in applied linguistics. Contrasting concrete practices against abstract policies seems exactly what Pennycook (2010) means by claiming that practices are "under-theorized" in applied linguistics. To me this seems like a case of confusing *actions* with *practices*, by which I mean that not all language activities are policies, but the meso-political conceptualization of practices offers a way to understand how practices can be language policies and as such produce social order. According to Pennycook (2010, p. 29) language use, along with specific language based practices, such as teaching, translation, and language policy "operate above the level of activity and below

the level of social order, as mediators of how things are done". Thus, language policy (making) should be understood as a social practice along with other social practices that are "predominantly language based" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 26). By understanding language policy as a social practice, it becomes irrelevant whether the policy language users adhere to originated from a practice that produces a *policy document* (policy-making) or from a practice that gradually accumulates into *a way of doing things* (language based social practices) since it is the outcome – the regulation of (linguistic) conduct that both produce.

Furthermore, a focus on practices shows that the regulation of language is also about controlling conduct, the regulation of social action more generally (Pennycook, 2013). Language policies might not be necessarily so much about what language(s) should be like in general, or if they are, the descriptions are very abstract which axiomatically means that "there will always be a great deal that escapes definition and regulation" (Pennycook, 2013, p. 14). Studies of language policy should more thoroughly demonstrate how judgements about using language "well" or "appropriately" are tied to other regulations of performances, i.e. to a more extensive regulation of social conduct rather than just language use. According to Pennycook (2013, p. 5) language policies "seek to regulate language and behavior in particular ways". This is why evaluations of linguistic performance can be closely tied to evaluations of other kinds of performance. In chapters 4 and 5, for example, I show how criticism over the quality of translation can be intertwined with criticism over the working methods that ended up producing such a translation in the first place. As Pennycook (2013, p. 14) claims, "language policies are often as much about access, governance and institutionalization as they are about language". In other words, language policies are more about regimenting and legitimizing language ideologies than linguistic conduct itself.

My third and final point for taking the policy as practice argument seriously is again related to the methodological decisions earlier LPP scholars have made. Many LPP scholars, as they seek to investigate settings where policy texts have an eminent role, can get caught up in the language ideological processes the documents attempt to establish. While Pennycook claims that language policies can produce language ideologies, Blommaert (2006, p. 515) argues that language policies can also be the products of language ideological processes. Blommaert (2006, p. 515) says that "the artifactual, denotational image of language is the one most often used in institutionalized environments" which is why "[a]nalyses based on 'languages' risk accepting the presuppositions of the policy, even when they are criticizing the implementation of the policy". In other words, because policy texts often end up defining the role of different languages in a particular setting, the analyses of such policies are in danger of reproducing the underlying presuppositions about languages as distinct codes that exist as abstract systems in people's minds, etc. According to Blommaert (2006, p. 515), instead of reproducing these language ideologies, LPP studies should be investigating "the

construction of the ideological image of '(a) language' itself, with the gradual emergence of 'standard' indexical categories for that 'language'". The way I understand this is that LPP studies might be too focused on the role of different languages in particular settings. However, if the field were to lose the popular presuppositions about language it could instead explore how actors use language in social practices by drawing on a range of linguistic resources (from varieties, registers and styles). Different languages might be part of the employed resources, but the conceptualizations of languages as distinct codes might also be completely meaningless for a particular social practice. As Pennycook (2013, p. 15) argues, abandoning the naturalized assumptions about codes, location and identity, and instead focusing on practices, resources and their affordances "opens up an alternative battleground over language ideology".

In other words, understanding language policy as a social practice opens up space for understanding language policy, along with potentially any other predominantly language based social practice, as a possible site for language regulation. It also opens opportunities for, not only the study of language choice, but for the study of language quality and its regulatory manifestations in social practices. As Hynninen (2016, p. 32) notes, LPP studies "typically adress relationships between languages rather than questions of language quality", although studies on language planning and especially *corpus planning*[2] do address issues of language quality (e.g. Keränen, 2018; Costa-Carreras, 2018 and for an overview, see Liddicoat and Baldauf, 2008). Especially the collection of scholarly work on language planning by Baldauf and Liddicoat et al. (2008), can be seen as a conscious effort to widen the understanding of policy processes. Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008, p. 9) for example argue that "[l]anguage does not simply exist at the macro-level of the nation-state, or other macro-level polity", and hence in some communities, national level language planning does not bear any relevance. Language planning in the "micro-level" is on-going and commonplace (Liddicoat and Baldauf, 2008, p. 4). The micro-level can consist of individuals, communities and organizations, and limiting analysis to only consider "deliberate planning" prevents developing a more comprehensive understanding of policy and planning processes (Liddicoat and Baldauf 2008, p. 4). What for them is crucial is how actors on any level come to affect the actions of others.

In a way all of this is nothing new, since in Spolsky's (2004) trichotomy, language policy as language practices already suggested that "language policy is concerned not just with named varieties of language, but with all the individual elements at all levels that make up language". Furthermore, he explicitly states that language policy can regulate pronunciation, spelling, choices of words, grammar, and style. Viewed from this perspective, studying the regulation of language quality might not be that novel, and in fact, there

[2] Fitzsimmons-Doolan (2015 p. 116) defines corpus planning as "overt attempts to manage language itself".

are numerous studies, such as Woydack (2018), Cameron (1995) and Lillis and Curry (2010) that do explicitly look at the ways in which linguistic conduct – both speech and writing – is controlled. They do not, however, align themselves with the LPP tradition, and hence the conceptual debates in LPP continue. Looking at language policies as social practices along with a more nuanced focus on linguistic resources might be what is needed to move the discussions around language policy forward.

Despite the issues raised above, I consider LPP a highly relevant field for my own research. Many of the findings of LPP research are without a doubt useful in a variety of context but, in the light of the points I have raised about a perhaps slightly disproportional focus on educational settings and language choice, it would be worthwhile to look at other settings as well. Johnson (2013, p. 118) himself notes that there are contexts in which LPP processes have been studied less (business organizations, families, and health care), and which thus remain significantly less explored, although there are studies that have looked at LPP processes in other than educational settings, as well. To mention a few, Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh (2009) have looked at language policing in new media contexts, Lønsman and Mortensen (2018) investigated the introduction of English as a corporate language into a Danish company, and Nekvapil and Nekula (2008) studied language management in a multilingual company. My own research will complement these studies by introducing yet another context in which it seems beneficial to study language policy processes – the community of language professionals offering their services as part of a multidisciplinary university.

In the final section of this chapter, I introduce relevant earlier research carried out on the two practices that I study, that is translation and authors' editing.

2.2.3 RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE PROFESSIONALS

The first thing I need to note is that there is no generally established field that studies language professionals. Instead, research on language professionals is carried out in a heterogeneous range of research fields and disciplines, such as translation studies, English for special/academic purposes (ESP and EAP respectively), and if we include teachers of English or English-medium writing, also in composition studies, discourse studies, English language teaching (ELT), teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) and English as a second/foreign language (ESL and EFL), just to name a few. As my research focuses on translators and language revisors, I will solely discuss research that addresses them. Each of the practices are discussed in their own separate section since translation and authors' editing are distinctly different practices. I will first give an overview of some of the studies that have looked at language revisors who engage in authors' editing.

Language revisors

Before moving to present the existing body of research and its origins I need to note that language revisors have been given different titles in the studies I am about to present (something that has been noticed by various scholars before me, e.g. Shashok, 2001; Burrough-Boenisch, 2003; Burrough-Boenisch, 2013; Lillis and Curry, 2010; Flowerdew and Wang, 2016). In addition, the work the language revisors do has been termed differently in different studies. In this section I will talk about language revisors, language revisers, authors' editors, correctors and shapers. The practices these actors engage in, then, are referred to as language revision, proofreading, authors' editing, etc. In this section, I will employ the terms used by the researchers who conducted the studies I review. In my own research, however, I will refer to these actors as language revisors since that is the name they have established for themselves in the unit I studied. In addition, in the chapters that follow, I will make a distinction between the practices of authors' editing (for scholarly manuscripts) and monolingual revision (for translations, term used by e.g. Koponen et al. 2020, discussed more extensively in chapters 4, and 6)[3] because these are clearly distinguishable practices the language revisors I studied habitually engaged in. I will first map the territories studies on language revisors have been exploring and then move on to discuss those studies that have directly influenced my own.

Burrough-Boenisch (2003) was one of the first to sketch out ways in which changes were introduced to a scholarly text written by a non-native author. One group of actors she identified as taking part in the production of the publication are authors' editors, who specialize in correcting texts written by non-Anglophone authors, but who introduce changes that are "primarily linguistic" (Burrough-Boenisch, 2003). According to Burrough-Boenisch (2003), authors' editors are not typically expected to evaluate the scientific merit of texts but are expected to identify and rectify other kinds of potential shortcomings in the text.

Even though Burrough-Boenisch was the first to explore and identify the contributions of different actors taking part in scholarly writing, research on authors' editing specifically had been carried out by others as well. Several studies have described, often in case studies (e.g. Bisaillon, 2007; Flowerdew, 2000; Flowerdew and Wang, 2016), what it is that authors' editors do. Most studies on authors' editing typically refer to Shashok's (2001) non-empirical essay in which she describes what authors' editors do to help authors communicate to their audience in a foreign language. This, Shashok (2001, p. 115) claims, often means that authors' editors engage in rewriting and "heavy" revising i.e. much more than intervening in grammatical constructions and making the text compliant with provided instructions. In their empirical

[3] I employ these conceptualizations, not because these would be the ones the language revisors use to refer to these practices (not all of them discursively make a distinction), but because this allows me to align my own findings with relevant discussions.

research on language revisers, Ventola and Mauranen (1991), however, argued that the language revisers they studied targeted far fewer linguistic issues. Their study focused especially on the organization of text, connectors, thematic patterns, and reference, and reported that the revisers mainly introduced changes into grammar and lexis. Flowerdew (2000) also described the changes introduced by a research assistant/local editor as focusing on superficial issues, such as grammar and lexis, but not because they were unwilling to engage in any "heavier" editing, but because the author was rushing the editor. After submission, the referees thought the paper still needed editing, so a copyeditor was assigned to work on the manuscript. Flowerdew describes the changes introduced by the copyeditor as aggressive, including shortening the paper from 43 pages to 29 by removing entire paragraphs and practically rewriting every sentence. In a more recent study, Solin and Hynninen (2018) found that scholars used language revision services strategically, that they acknowledged that the services varied depending on the provider and that they made the choice as to whose services to use based on the needs of the manuscript.

One of the influential studies to address what kind of language work is carried out, as part of academic text production, is the study by Lillis and Curry (2010) already mentioned in section 2.2.1. As part of their study, Lillis and Curry (2010, pp. 89–91) developed and presented a methodological tool that can be used to track the interventions introduced by different brokers into scholarly publications, something they argue has been rarely studied. The tool aims "to tease out what is going on in academic text production and publishing by empirically tracking what is being done, rather than starting from (common sense) assumptions about who is involved at different stages and why" (Lillis and Curry 2010, p. 88).

Below I list the types of interventions Lillis and Curry (2010, p. 89) included in the typology, the 11 categories the authors provide for "changes made to draft".

1. *Additions* word/sentence/section added
2. *Deletions* word/sentence/section deleted
3. *Reformulation* words/phrase/sentences reworded
4. *Re-shuffling* re-organization of sentences/paragraphs/sections
5. *Argument* claims, evidence, warrants, what is foregrounded, backgrounded
6. *Positioning* explicit reference to position of paper/ research in relation to field/discipline/journal (e.g. CARS – Swales, 1990)
7. *Lexical/Register* levels of formality, discipline, field specific vocabulary
8. *Sentence-level changes/corrections* to sentence level syntax, vocabulary, grammar, spelling, punctuation
9. *Cohesion markers* ways in which sentences / sections are linked through for example conjunctions, lexical items

10. *Publishing conventions* specific journal or organizational conventions (such as APA American Psychological Association)
11. Visuals/Representation of text Formatting, diagrams, bullets

Lillis and Curry (2010) note that literacy brokering is "highly consequential" for their informants, and that there were some brokers who the authors writing outside the Anglophone center considered more useful than others. They also note that interventions introduced by academic brokers were considered valuable. These interventions often went beyond the sentence level, for example by deleting knowledge content, introducing specialist discourse or hedging into the manuscripts (Lillis and Curry, 2010). Language brokers, on the other hand, the authors considered either useful or not, depending on what kind of service the language broker was called on to provide. Lillis and Curry (2010) note that translation was consistently regarded unsuitable for academic publishing by their participants while "language professionals", by which Lillis and Curry mean professional authors' editors or informal brokers (such as family members or friends), were considered useful by the authors. The interventions introduced by language professionals and informal brokers were mainly concentrated on sentence-level changes, e.g. adding articles or inserting prepositions into a manuscript. I find Lillis and Curry's methodological tool an excellent heuristic for analysis, but I feel the role of language brokers could be further elaborated. In my opinion, labeling the interventions introduced by authors' editors as merely sentence level corrections does not do justice to the scope of roles language brokers can take on as they work on a text. I will take this issue up in chapter 8 in which I show how authors' editors can initiate interventions that, while operating on the sentence-level, do far more than address the grammar, spelling or punctuation of the text.

Although not explicitly drawing on Lillis and Curry's (2010) methodological tool, Flowerdew and Wang (2016) used a somewhat similar categorization in their case study. They analyzed a corpus of 15 manuscripts that received negative feedback in peer review but were eventually published. All texts were edited by a single authors' editor. Through a "double-entry coding" process, Flowerdew and Wang (2016) developed a taxonomy they suggested could be used to inform further research. The coding categorized distinguished between five types of changes: deletion, addition, substitution, rearrangement and correction (Flowerdew and Wang, 2016, p. 44). Flowerdew and Wang (2016) also analyzed what the revision changes targeted, which for them meant identifying whether the modifications occurred at either morpheme, word, phrasal and clause/clause complex levels. By the order of frequency, the most common revision changes were substitutions (39.4%, most often introduced at the word level), corrections (29.3%, most frequently at morpheme level), additions (15.5%, word level), deletions (12.1%, word level) while rearrangements constituted 3.4% of the changes (on phrase level). Flowerdew and Wang's (2016, p. 51) study focused on analyzing texts the authors' editor was able to discuss with the authors and did not include other

data beyond the original and revised texts. As suggestions for further research Flowerdew and Wang (2016, p. 51) list studying how authors' editors without the opportunity to consult authors navigate the task. In addition, they suggest interviews could be conducted to complement text analysis to determine why authors' editors introduce the changes they do.

Setting out to do explicitly what Flowerdew and Wang (2015) suggest, Hynninen (2020, 2021) investigated text histories that contained interventions from academic brokers, but also from language revisers. While the primary focus was on studying the authors' responses to any type of brokering, the text histories also include an email interview with one of the language revisers, as well as email correspondence between authors and language revisers. Hynninen found that the brokering provided by the language reviser was typically textual (i.e. not content-related) and focused on linguistic correctness and clarity (especially cohesion), but did feature some negotiation over the knowledge content as well. Similarly to Hynninen, Luo and Hyland (2016) found in their interview study of L1 Chinese authors that language professionals (in this case English teachers) often engaged in making suggestions that allowed the authors to maintain agentive power in either choosing to incorporate or ignore the suggestions.

While the body of literature on authors' editing is developing, there is still a need for more research on the practice. As should become apparent from this rather short description of research carried out on authors' editing, the range of issues authors' editors address as part of their work varies greatly, and the practice needs to be empirically researched. There have been attempts to describe what the service consists of (e.g. Burrough-Boenisch, 2013; Burrough-Boenisch and Matarese, 2013; Matarese, 2016), but these attempts are often content with putting labels around what types of activities the author's editors engage in. In my opinion, these studies still fail to provide empirical evidence as to what the interventions actually look like, how often they occur while author's editors work on a manuscript and what the rationales might be for incorporating the interventions.

As it stands, there is still very little knowledge on what it is that authors' editors do to facilitate academic publication. Burgess and Lillis (2013, p. 2) note that "the full scope" of translators and authors' editors as part of academic publication activities "remains largely unexplored". This, they claim, gives rise to a series of potential problems, such as the authors not knowing who to turn to in search of assistance, language professionals themselves struggling to define their limits and communicate these to clients and unrealistic expectations from clients (Burgess and Lillis, 2013, p. 2). Burgess and Lillis (2013, p. 13) conclude that "[p]rofessional writing support cannot be classified into individual, clearly defined activities" but should, rather, be thought of in terms of "a spectrum of overlapping roles and practices that often change over time and that vary according to specific contexts and relationships". They note, for example that the activities engaged in can vary significantly depending on the needs of the client and on the competence of the language professional.

In addition to the studies reviewed above, there is a more recent observational study by Olohan (2018), who sought to identify features of scientific editing (carried out by translators) in an institutional context. Drawing on practice theories, especially Shove et al. (2012), Olohan set out to conceptualize scientific editing and translation and compare these two practices. Olohan (2018) found that authors typically did not commission services from translators but did seem to rely upon the expertise of the (bilingual) editors. Olohan (2018) also observed that the editors demonstrated linguistic authority through interventions and comments they introduced into the texts they worked with and had a role in offering "psychological support" in addition to their editing role in situations where the paper had received negative comments in peer review. Olohan (2018) notes that practice research could prove a beneficial point of departure for further research on editors. While Olohan's work seems intriguing, I think a more thorough ethnographic research on authors' editing is still needed. Given that there is still very little we know about what the practice of authors' editing entails, what the language revisors' regulatory actions target and why, my ethnographic study seeks to help close some of the gaps in contributing to this body of research.

In this section I have reviewed some of the studies that have looked at authors' editing. I identified gaps in the existing body of literature that I attempt to bridge with my research. In this research, I conceptualize authors' editing with the help of the understanding developed in practice theories and investigate the institutional role of language revisors in the unit I studied. Next, I will move on to discuss research carried out on translators.

Translators

Unlike the somewhat developing body of literature on language revisors, research on translators has been firmly established as an independent discipline – translation studies. I will only focus on those studies and existing lines of inquiry within translation studies that bear relevance for my own research.

There has been a long tradition in translation studies to focus on texts (Munday, 2016), but for a couple of decades now, some scholars in translation studies have started to explore the cultural frameworks in which translation takes place. Approaches drawing from discourse analysis and the studies of sociocultural systems have begun to map how translation is embedded in social relations and relations of power (Munday, 2016, p. 165). Bassnet and Lefevere (1990, p. 4), for example, focus on how culture interacts with translation to impact and even constrain it. The "cultural turn" in translation studies has marked an increased interest in ideologies, translation as "appropriation" and translation as "rewriting" (Munday, 2016, p. 198). Lefevere (1992, p. 2), for example, sees translation taking part in the systematic shaping of literature as a system, as a form of "rewriting" influenced by power, ideology, institutions and forms of manipulation. Even though springing from the field of literary translation, I find the idea of rewriting

relevant for my own analysis on institutional translation. Lefevre also argues that "the same basic process of rewriting is at work in translation, historiography, anthologization, criticism, and editing" (1992, p. 9). I find these observations interesting and helpful not only in developing an understanding of translation, but also in conceptualizing the much less studied process of authors' editing and the role of the language revisors in the institution I studied.

Translation scholars have also paid attention to the various actors that occupy the system within which translations are produced and to the institutional contexts in which translation happens. Moreover, translation studies combining the study of translators and ideologies have started to call into question the view of the translator as a neutral mediator in communication (e.g. Tymoczko, 2014; Cronin, 2003). For Cronin (2003, p. 35–36) "[t]he self-reflexive sensitivity to the dangers of misunderstanding, distortion and censorship in translation, present in much contemporary thinking on translation, means that a view of translation as naive, unmediated, instrumentalist communication is no longer tangible". The recent work on ideology and translation also challenges the idea that translators could somehow free themselves of any "cultural and ideological affiliations" that strongly tie them into particular localities and temporalities (Tymoczko, 2014, p. 183). These ideas are perfectly aligned with the ideas put forward by others interested in language ideologies more generally (e.g. Blommaert, 2006, 2010, 2013b; Agha, 2003; Silverstein, 2003; Rosa and Burdick, 2016, see also section 2.1.3). Translation scholars have also been interested in norms of translation and, similarly to translation ideologies, translation norms have been understood as socio-culturally bound. For example, Toury (2012) sees translation as an activity guided by the norms of translation in a given community. According to Toury (2012), these norms can make the translation conform to either source or target language norms, and he even proposes that by studying translations, some general "laws" or "universals" of translation could be established. In addition to Toury, also Chesterman (1997) has proposed his own ideas of principles of translation or translation norms.

What these conceptualizations of translation norms seem to lack, but that could be identified in the literature on language norms more generally, is a view of norms as both historical and dynamic, as well as negotiable and emerging, while at the same time being stable and recurring. This is most likely because the studies on translation norms have focused on translations as textual products, not on the practices of translation and viewed norms as emanating from the constellations of actors, be they human or non-human, that come to participate in translation (but see Olohan, 2021). Focusing on texts alone is a methodological choice that blurs the active negotiation and engagement with the social and material networks inherent in all communication practices (Canagarajah, 2018) and crucially also in the practice of translation (Olohan, 2021).

In the 1990s, translation studies began to turn to sociology, particularly to Bourdieu and his concept of habitus, to seek answers to how translators are "both implicated in and able to transform the forms of practice in which they engage" (Inghilleri 2005, p. 143). Chesterman (2006) argues that the main value in bridging translation studies with sociology is that this approach centralizes translation as a practice and brings forth the actors and their actions, and the interrelatedness of these, as they come together to take part in the process of translation. Central to the investigations carried out under the umbrella of the sociology of translation lies in locating the cultural forces, power and dominance that are ingrained in translation as internalized norms and ideologies that manifest in the translation process and in the product (for overviews of the sociology of translation, see Wolf and Fukari, 2007; Zheng, 2017). In fact, Wolf (2007) identifies several different "sociologies" that can be distinguished and that align with the interests of the sociology of translation. These are traditions that focus on the agents participating in translation, the process of translation and those investigating the translation product as "the construction of social identities". Often studies that could be characterized as stemming from the sociology of translation attempt to combine these approaches. As a result, the field began to turn to methodologies that were not commonly used before. One of the methodological approaches that has gained momentum is ethnography.

In her study of EU translation from English to Finnish, Koskinen (2008) employed ethnography. She viewed ethnography as an ideal methodology since it afforded combining multiple sources of data, methods of analysis, and the study of different spatiotemporal locations of text production (Koskinen, 2008). Koskinen not only looked at translations, but also the drafting process of the original texts, and the different moments in which translation became part of the other phases of the text production process, the institutional policies regulating text production and how the translators understood their role as part of the process. She observed that translation as well as the drafting of the original texts became a site for negotiation over the norms guiding text production – a constant push and pull between institutionalization/ bureaucratization and readability. Other ethnographies of translation include many translation workplace studies (for overviews of workplace studies using different methodologies, see Risku, Rogl and Milošević, 2019; Ehrensberger-Dow and Massey, 2019) that focus on a diversity of aspects, such as the globalization and digitalization of translation work, situated cognition processes in translation, as well as on the use of tools and the ergonomics of translation. Risku and her various collaborators have produced an extensive body of work studying translation ethnographically. These include studies on situational and extended cognition in translation (Risku and Windhager, 2013), on the role of freelance translators (Risku, Pein-Weber and Milošević, 2016), the role of technology and changes in translation due to globalization and digitalization (Risku, et al., 2013).

The rise of the sociology of translation has also marked an interest in the social and institutional forces enabling or constraining translation, and some scholars have begun to explore how translation policies affect the way translation is carried out (for an overview, see Meylaerts 2010). These studies include, for example Gonzáles Núñez (2016), Tesseur (2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2017), Schäffner, Tcaciuc and Tesseur (2014) and the aforementioned study by Koskinen (2008). Gonzáles Núñez (2016) employs Spolsky's conceptualization of language policy to study translation in Scotland. Tesseur's (2014a) dissertation was an ethnography of translation in Amnesty International. The other studies by Tesseur employed the same data to study the translation strategy and translation policies in the organization and the translation of a press release with textual and observational data (2012), as well as Amnesty International's strategic understanding of multilingualism (2014b). The later study (2017) broadens the scope by analyzing the tensions posed by the organization using both professional translators and volunteers to carry out translation. Schäffner, Tcaciuc and Tesseur (2014) provide a comparison of national, supranational, and non-governmental organizations' translation practices and relate the practices to the policies developed for translation in these settings.

A shared feature in these studies is that translation policy is not viewed solely as the documents that are produced to regulate translation (such as style guides or strategy documents) or responses of translators to these documents as they engage in translation, but also as the actual practice the translators engage in and the ideals the translators draw on to produce the translation. In other words, these studies depict translation as an active construction and reassertion of policies developed in practice. This understanding of translation policies clearly aligns with Bonacina-Pugh's (2012, 2017) ideas of practiced language policies, and will be taken up in chapter 6 in which I analyze translation as the production of a local standard.

Another uniting feature in all lines of inquiry depicted above, that I broadly understand as the sociology of translation, is an understanding of translation as a social practice. Thus, many translation scholars often draw on the works of various sociologists to conceptualize translation (Wolf, 2007). According to Munday (2016, p. 246), the sociological approaches to translation, or the sociology of translation as it is currently labeled, have been influenced by sociological concepts and theories, such as habitus and practice (Bourdieu), as well as actor-network theory (Latour). Buzelin (2005, 2007), for example, employs action-network theory to study literary translation. Later, research on translation has also drawn from other social scientists, such as Shatzki, Reckwitz, and Shove et al. (Olohan, 2018, 2021) and Pickering (Ruokonen and Koskinen, 2017; Olohan, 2019). The practice perspective also brings with it a need to revisit and reconceptualize some of the central concepts through which translation has been understood before (Olohan, 2021). For example, informed by practice theories, Olohan (2021, 64–65) insists that translation studies should embrace an understanding of the competences needed for

translating and norms governing translation as emergent, situational, dynamic and as transpiring through the practice itself (see also Olohan, 2019).

Because of these developments, translation studies has become interested in the mundane everyday work of translators and in the ever-increasingly technologically mediated nature of the translation practice. Already in the early 2000s, Cronin (2003, p. 10) called for translation studies to pay more attention to "translation and things" by which be meant "the tools and elements of the object world which translators use or have been affected by their work". The word lists, style guides, previous translations and other material resources translators produce create an intertextual ecology of texts that can be "marshalled by translators to facilitate or improve the translations they produce" (Cronin, 2003, p. 24). Cronin (2003, p. 63) argues that the technologization of translation transfers "cognitive processing [...] from the human translator to the tool". Cronin (2003) argues that an increased sensitivity to the material organization of translation leads to a heightened awareness of the role of translation in society. He (2003, p. 29) calls for an approach to translation that necessarily considers, not only language as a symbolic system, the specific languages being translated, the tools and the mode and modality, but also how translation manifests in different spatiotemporal locations and social contexts.

These calls have been answered and, currently, empirical work in the sociology of translation also endorses studying extended, situated and embodied cognition closely connected to the technological developments in translation (Risku and Windhager, 2013; Risku et al., 2013; Risku, Rogl and Milošević, 2019), as well as the distribution of agency across different individuals and communities as well as non-human artefacts and technology (Buzelin, 2005, 2007; Olohan, 2011, 2021; Ruokonen and Koskinen, 2017; Koponen et al. 2020; LeBlanc, 2017). These developments have sparked a theoretical interest in the materiality of translation, and in the tight entanglement of translation with technology and the economy (Cronin, 2013). There have also been attempts to conceptualize translators' agency in regard to technology, especially by drawing on Pickering's (1993) "mangle of practice" that sees agency as resistance and accommodation (Olohan, 2011, 2019; Ruokonen and Koskinen, 2017). Drawing on posthumanistic understanding, Alonso and Calvo (2015) propose a trans-human translation theoretical modeling to conceptualize the role of technology on translation studies.

My research will try to integrate the many lines of inquiry stemming from research conducted in the sociology of translation. My point of departure is the understanding of translation as a social practice widely shared in the field. Based on this understanding I will try to integrate the interests in translation technology, institutional translation and translation policy and complement these with ideas developed in academic literacy studies and language policy studies as well as with those developed in research focusing on language regulation.

3 MATERIAL AND METHODS

> Enter into the world. Observe and wonder; experience and reflect. To understand a world you must become part of that world while at the same time remaining separate, a part of and apart from. Go then, and return to tell me what you see and hear, what you learn, and what you come to understand.
>
> (Patton, 2002, p. 259)

3.1 ETHNOGRAPHY

Traditionally, the word ethnography has been understood in two ways that reflect the characteristics of ethnography; first ethnography is understood to entail fieldwork, but the concept is also used to refer to the textual products in which the ethnographers write about the things they discover during fieldwork (see e.g., McCarty, 2015; Humphreys and Watson, 2009). The word ethnography itself derives from Greek and could be translated as *writing about people* (McCarty, 2015). In a sense my study could be described as an ethnography of "rewriters" (Lefevere, 1992, p. 2), of people who mediate English-medium academic communication by taking part in networks of text production, in which case my thesis is a piece of writing about rewriting. The language professional's ways of rewriting and working in general, as well as the ways in which the language professionals talk about their work are the bedrock of my research. As Blommaert and Dong (2010, p. 25) note, ethnography puts the focus on communities and on the complexity of these social units. Ethnography offers a methodology that can enrich our understanding of how both social action and the way the social is discursively construed together establish communities and social order.

Since my thesis is about language professionals, language and its use in the community I studied are central to the thesis. Through an ethnographic lens, language is seen as essential in building the social. According to Blommaert and Dong (2010, p. 7), in ethnography "[l]anguage is typically seen as a socially loaded and assessed tool for humans". For the language professionals I studied, language is the primary means through which they earn their living, build their community and traditions, and help others partake in communities and traditions through the language help they offer to their clients. In other words, language is consequential for them. Through an ethnographic lens, language enables the performing of the social. This is because, as Blommaert and Dong (2010, p. 7) note, a specific way of using language is always connected to wider patterns of social order – language "is the architecture of social behaviour itself, and thus part of social structure and social relations".

The roots of ethnography lie in the social sciences, specifically in social and cultural anthropology, as well as sociology (Atkinson et al., 2008).

Ethnography has also been adopted in a range of other disciplines, including those interested in how people use language. Atkinson et al. (2008) argue that contemporary ethnography escapes fixed definitions, not least because of the wide disciplinary diversity of the researchers conducting ethnography. Despite the diversity ethnographies exhibit, ethnography is "grounded in a commitment to the first-hand experience and exploration of a particular social or cultural setting" into which the ethnographer is immersed through participant observation (Atkinson et al., 2008, p. 4). Participant observation is the primary method through which the ethnographer records the events that take place in the field. It gives the ethnographer the first-hand experience that distinguishes ethnography from a range of other methods that can be broadly labeled as qualitative. Atkinson et al. (2008, p. 5) claim that while qualitative methods are valuable in developing "principled understandings of social life and personal experience", solely relying on such methods necessarily divorces these accounts from the contexts of social action in which they occur. With ethnography, I was able to observe, record and analyze discursively construed accounts together with social action taking place in a natural setting.

As a holistic approach, ethnography is often messy (McCarty, 2015; Blommaert and Dong, 2010). It was difficult to pinpoint in advance exactly what I wanted to study, and I, like many others before me, noticed how conducting ethnography is an iterative process in which the researcher's understanding of the phenomena, people and places develops throughout the research process. Along the way, I ended up taking many detours – interviewing people, going to events and meetings, collecting texts and making video recordings that did not eventually end up being analyzed. Looking back, the detours seem futile and a waste of time, but in hindsight I doubt I would have been able to build the understanding I now have without them. Furthermore, reflecting on these expeditions now assures me that I did not enter the field armed with ready-made assumptions I set out to prove true, but instead truly did my best in attempting to privilege my participants' points of view.

Ethnography is also a very intimate form of inquiry. Because I needed to be able to understand what my participants think about their work and how they carry it out, I needed to gain access to their daily working lives. Even when my challenges in gaining access were undoubtedly more easily overcome than the difficulties faced by those studying the private lives of people, getting to the field did require some serious strategic thinking. Even though I had worked as a translator myself, I had no pre-established contacts to the site. Together with my advisor, Anna, we decided the best approach was to contact the director of the unit and ask them for an interview first. Eventually we ended up interviewing the director twice, the second time in March 2017, over a year after the first interview. The delay was caused by unanticipated circumstances both in my personal life and organizational changes in the unit, and Anna and I thought it might be wise to let the dust fall a bit before negotiating access to other members of the unit. Because of the recent changes in the unit, I decided

to proceed by first interviewing the translators and language revisors (in the spring and summer 2017) and use the interviews as an opportunity to inform the language professionals about my wishes to study them more closely once I had established rapport with them. Luckily, the suggestion was welcomed.

After receiving a green light from the director of the unit, we agreed that I was to begin fieldwork in November 2017 and observe the unit's language professionals c. three months. On the first day I had to come to terms with just how intimately intrusive ethnography can be for the people being observed. At the time when I began my fieldwork, there were three in-house translators working in the unit. Before entering the field, I had managed to interview two of them, the unit's senior translator and another in-house translator (plus two freelance translators). On the first day, I first spent a couple of hours observing the two in-house translators (I had interviewed) working. At the end of the day, I brought up the consent form I had prepared for the fieldwork period to discuss its content with the participants. I sensed the third in-house translator being somewhat uncomfortable, so I decided to ask them if they had any objections to me being there observing them work. As I had suspected, they were reluctant to have me observe them and asked me to leave them out of my research. For the third translator, the idea of me peeking over their shoulder while they translated was obtrusive and undesirable. Their request was completely justified and reasonable, especially since they did not mind me observing the other translators and I was able to continue fieldwork. I admit I felt slightly taken aback because of their reaction, but luckily this particular translator did not object to feature in one of the vignettes and in one text trajectory data I analyze in chapters 4 and 6. The lesson I learned from this experience was to remain humbly grateful for being granted the opportunity to carry out research in the unit, and to navigate my participants' wishes and hopes while staying true to my own research interests.

Ethnography is also intimate in other ways. As the methodology requires sustained involvement, the researcher often develops close relationships with the study participants. As I participated in the working lives of the unit's translators and language revisors, I not only learned about how they work and what they think about their work, but I also got to know their working personae. Almost like a colleague with whom you share office facilities, I learned about the language professionals' relationships among each other, with the other actors in the university, as well as about their private lives, about their personal histories, families and friends. Like in any workplace, the unit has its share of interpersonal issues that cannot be shared in the thesis, no matter how relevant those things might be for my research. In addition, there are things that I have included in the thesis, but I have had to carefully consider how to incorporate them in order not to cause harm. Out of respect and concern for my participants, most of the deeply personal experiences my participants trusted me with have been excluded from the analysis – with a couple of exceptions that will be discussed in section 3.3 (where I depict ethical considerations involved in the research more thoroughly).

Finally, ethnography is an intimate form of inquiry for the researcher who has to put their personality to the test. The successfulness of the entire endeavor is dependent on whether the ethnographer is able to gain access and build trust, as well as how well they can navigate the messiness of everyday life in order to collect relevant and valuable data. As Atkinson et al. (2008) note, ethnography is also very personal for the researcher. In fieldwork as well as in authoring an ethnography, there is an "emphasis on personal qualities and the uniquely biographical experience of fieldwork" (Atkinson et al., 2008, p. 4).

When entering the field, I had no experience in participant observation, and it took some time before I was able to get accustomed with balancing observation with notetaking and writing about the day in my fieldwork diary. I developed a system for taking notes mostly during the time my participants worked since that seemed to bother them less than taking notes during conversations.

The fieldwork notes, diary entries I wrote at the end of the day, interviews as well as the recordings I made of meetings and seminars reflect upon the practices the translators and language revisors engaged in and how they thought about the work they do from *their perspective*. As Rock (2008, p. 31) claims, ethnographers should be first and foremost concerned with "the practical knowledge that people on the social scene, the actors and the subjects, employ to guide their own actions". In other words, the ethnographer should place high value on the "practical understandings" the participants attach to their practices. The participants' *emic*, insider perspective should be privileged throughout the data collection process and it should be the cornerstone of the analysis. The key idea of ethnographic methodology is sustained involvement with the people that are of interest to the research so that the ethnographer can develop an understanding of the day-to-day practices and the emic meanings the participants construe for these. In ethnography, the researcher cyclically shifts focus from the participants' everyday understanding to a more abstract, etic take on the phenomena under scrutiny (McCarthy, 2015).

The emic is also about the ethnographer developing similar practical understandings of the everyday doings and happenings by taking part in the activities. Sometimes it is only after seeing firsthand how things work that you can understand the rationalities behind forms of action. In the first interviews I conducted with the language professionals I asked them to describe to me their typical work process. While there were many things my participants could recall and narrate to me, I later observed many of the details were left untold. This was not because my participants would not want to share these details with me but most likely because they seemed so self-evident, normalized or unimportant in the context of the interview. In fact, Blommaert and Dong (2010, p. 3) claim that most of what the ethnographer can observe, the "cultural and social behaviour" is carried out without conscious awareness or reflecting upon it. Thus, it was difficult for the language professionals to put their actions into words when asked about them. With ethnographic fieldwork,

the researcher can gain access to things "that are often not seen as important but belong to the implicit structures of people's life" (Blommaert and Dong 2010, p. 3). In other words, ethnography is about gaining an understanding of things that cannot be asked about.

In the field, I had the opportunity to observe how the language professionals carried out their daily business. I had the possibility to witness how they began and finished their tasks, how they managed to solve difficult problems or got frustrated in the process. I observed them pace their work, take breaks and distribute their attention with the help of digital tools so that they were able to divide the task into phases. I also learned about the rationales the language professionals construed for their ways of working, their interpretations of what it was that they were doing and why. These were aspects of the language professionals' work that could only be "grasped from within" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 2). Rock (2008, p. 31) observes that ethnographers have to understand that they study a societal structure "that is already interpretatively at work, actively prestructured by its occupants". Understanding how the interpretations are formed and how they structure the ways of doing things develops the emic insider knowledge.

This, however, is not all there is to ethnography. The ethnographer also needs to develop an *etic* perspective. In ethnography, etic refers to the outsider view point the ethnographer develops through *their own understanding*. The ethnographer is first and foremost a constructor of knowledge. But the knowledge ethnographies create is not just about the insider knowledge being catered to an academic audience. This is because ethnography is fundamentally "a learning process" (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 26) in which the ethnographer is the instrument through which the understanding develops. The ethnographer can never truly be an insider and can thus never truly claim to witness events that would have taken place naturally. The events that the ethnographer observes are always affected by the ethnographer's presence. The ethnographer, together with their participants, can form a "common ground" that allows "particular forms of interaction to take place and particular kinds of knowledge to travel between the two parties" (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, pp. 27–28). The construction of knowledge by learning, by establishing the common ground, is the knowledge ethnographies create – "*the process is the product*" (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 10, emphasis original). Ethnographers can never become one of the community members they study, and hence, can never claim to thoroughly understand what it is like to lead the life of another. This is why the knowledge created through ethnography is inevitably intersubjective (Toren and de Pina-Cabral, 2011, p. 10). As Holbraad (2011, p. 91) notes, "anthropology is not about 'how we think they think'. It is about how we could learn to think, given what they say and do".

Ethnography is not an objective reflection of reality, as is not any other means of knowledge creation. Therefore, I do not pretend to present an objective description of the site and people inhabiting it. This ethnography is

my own reconstruction of the doings and sayings I witnessed in the field and of the learning process I went through and through which I now understand life "out there" in the field. It depicts how I integrate my participants emic knowledge with my own etic understanding. As Rock (2008, p. 31) reminds us, "ethnography itself is a representation or imitation that is not, in many respects, quite authentic and certainly not the thing itself". In addition, de Pina-Cabral (2011, p. 166) invites us to abandon any illusions that the total truth could be somehow attainable. While ethnography can never truly represent the participants' point of view or accomplish to present the complexity of life in its entirety, it can add another layer of knowing and complement the knowledge the participants already possess. This is because the ethnographer can pursue questions that have gone unnoticed by the participants or that do not bear any relevance to them, but that could contribute to scholarly understanding of the phenomena. According to de Pina-Cabral (2011, p. 172) ethnography is "shifting modes of knowledge", alternating between practical and theoretical knowledge. The ethnographer can connect the dots between seemingly unrelated things from the point of view of the people inhabiting the social scene (Rock, 2008, p. 31; Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 42). While ethnography is not the thing itself, it can get "things partially right" (de Pina-Cabral 2011, p. 174).

Having now established how I studied the language professionals and their work, I now move on to describe the people whom I studied and the site in which my research was conducted.

3.2 SITE AND PEOPLE

The unit operates as part of a Finnish university. It offers different types of language support services ranging from translation and authors' editing to language teaching. The unit operated first as a close collaborator and later as an integral part of the university, offering the institution different kinds of language support for many decades. At first the unit focused on language teaching, but gradually began to offer other kinds of services along teaching. The unit employs many kinds of language professionals, out of whom my thesis focuses on the translators and language revisors of English language texts.

To provide a bit of background for a more detailed description of the two teams, I have compiled in the vignette below the Unit's coming into being story as told by Senior translator[4], the English translator team leader and the most experienced member of the translator team.

> Senior translator started working in the University in the late 1980s, first as an administrative intern in the English department and soon after that as a translator in the Unit. In the 1990s, the Unit was much smaller than it

[4] The participants and sites have been given pseudonyms that are elaborated in section 3.3.

> currently is, Senior translator and the person working as a language revision coordinator at the time comprised the entire full-time English team. Senior translator explained that the practice was "small-scale at the time. There wasn't such a demand for translations nor were there resources". The situation changed at the turn of the millennium. The Unit took on all translation and language revision duties from other administrative bodies and the services became chargeable, but part of the charges was paid by the University. The Unit hired more language revisors, first as part-time employees and later as full-time members of staff. Around the same time the university administration expanded and the need to produce translations increased with it. Senior translator got their first translator colleague in the early 2000s. Even though Senior translator had been working alone for the first decade or so, they "never felt lonely because, well we had the principle that everything was revised by the language revisors, meaning I collaborated closely with the revisors, be they part- or full-time". The Swedish translators were moved to the Unit in the late 2000s which Senior translator described as a sensible thing to do "since we're translating the same texts". In the first two decades of the millennium the services of the two translation teams have been in increasing demand. After the reorganization of University administration in the 2010s, the services became free of charge for the University employees. In 2010, the two translation teams produced c. 3000 pages of translated text. By the end of the year 2018, the translators produced nearly three times the amount, out of which the English team produced almost 5000 pages of translations.

All in-house translators who feature as the primary translator participants in this study are native Finnish speakers (Freelance translator 1 is bilingual). When I began my fieldwork the Unit's English translator team comprised of three in-house translators and 10 freelancers. The Unit commissioned translations from five of the freelance translators relatively frequently. One of the translators, Translator 2 who has worked in the Unit since 2010[5], specializes in translating press releases, but when necessary, all in-house translators translate all genres they have been commissioned to language version by the University administration.

The translators work solely on texts commissioned by the University administration. Earlier, it was possible for researchers to have their work translated, for example, the translators at times produced English language versions of abstracts or course material, but due to increasing demands for the administration to communicate in English, the translation service became reserved solely for the administration and communications unit. Nowadays, individual scholars are advised (on the Unit's intranet pages) to produce the materials they need directly in English and use the services offered by the language revisors.

The translators are commissioned to translate a variety of genres ranging from calls for applications, curricula, reports, regulations, PowerPoint presentations, guidelines, instructions, press releases, etc. As noted above, at

[5] The participants and sites have been given pseudonyms that are elaborated in section 3.3.

the time of fieldwork, Translator 2 near exclusively translated press releases and intranet news. Senior translator describes their own specialty to be texts related to reforms and reorganizations the University goes through. According to Senior translator, Translator 3 specializes in HR-related texts. Although the Unit's in-house translators consider themselves as specializing in certain genres, it should be noted that they all still translate and bilingually revise (read and intervene in each other's texts) all kinds of texts. As Translator 2 notes "the commissions come in all the time, and sometimes your colleague is on vacation, so fully specializing only in a particular field isn't possible". In the Unit, specialization seems to be more a question of degree, i.e., how frequently they translate given genres and topics, than of range, that is, how many genres/topics they translate.

The freelancers, on the other hand, are allocated commissions based on their expertise on given topics and genres. One of the Unit's freelancers (Freelance translator 1) previously worked as an in-house translator and has been later commissioned to translate texts on higher education and administration. One of the freelancers (Translator 4), who has previously translated for a medical company, was often asked to do translations related to medicine. Two other freelancers have backgrounds in literature and law, and texts pertaining to these topics are often outsourced to them. Often specialization proceeds organically. The translators might have a background that is considered especially suitable for translating particular topics and genres, as is the case with freelance translators. With in-house translators, the specialization occurs more accidentally. Senior translator told me that the in-house translators specialize "kind of naturally, when you first translate something, the others note that, hey, you just did this kind of text, will you take this one as well, and so it goes".

About midway my fieldwork period, the Unit put up a call for applications to hire a fourth in-house translator as the translation commissions had been steadily increasing in the previous years and since Freelance translator 1 had relatively recently transitioned from an in-house employee to work for the Unit as a freelancer. At the end of the recruitment process, Translator 4 was hired in January 2018. Translator 4 became one of my key informants (for example, all text trajectories analyzed in chapter 6 have been translated by Translator 4) as observing them learning the ways of the community proved to be an unobtrusive way for me to record the unstated ideals, traditions, norms and conventions of the translation team. Observing Translator 4 learn the ropes brought to the surface norms the more experienced members of the community took for granted and that were considered naturalized ways of doing things. It was an opportunity to observe how "[t]he social world […] is preformed by the active intelligence of its participants" (Rock, 2008, p. 31) and see how the practical understandings encoded into tacit knowledge became discursively construed and brought upon active reflection to socialize Translator 4 to the ways of the translation team.

Similarly to the English translation team, the Unit employs three in-house English language revisors, (Revisors 1 and 3 work full time and Revisor 2 part time), and regularly commissions services from dozens of freelance language revisors. All three language revisors have been working for the Unit since the 2000s and are native speakers of English. They were born and received most of their education in North America. They have all lived in Finland for several decades.

Before my fieldwork period, the language revisors' work mostly comprised of authors' editing (cf. Ch. 2), i.e., the work carried out for scholarly manuscripts to facilitate their publication. During and after my fieldwork, the in-house language revisors have been doing more and more monolingual revision, the work they do to revise texts translated in the Unit (the practice is discussed in detail in chapter 6). In an interview Revisor 1 told me that earlier 80% of their work comprised of authors' editing, but since the demand for translation, and hence monolingual revision, has increased, they now only allocate 40–50% of their working time to authors' editing. Revisor 1 collaborates most with the translators and does monolingual revision for longer, non-urgent texts, such as curricula documents. All in-house language revisors also have "on-call days" when they revise urgent translation commissions. The two full time revisors each have two on-call days per week, the part time language revisor, Revisor 2, has one on-call day, during which the language revisors usually manage to work on other texts as well.

The in-house language revisors also specialize in certain topics. Revisor 1, as noted, monolingually revises texts for translators, such as administrative documents and curricula (which are typically non-urgent and not part of the on-call day revisions for translators). As an authors' editor Revisor 1 specializes in humanities, religion, forestry and medicine. In authors' editing, Revisor 2's specialties are humanities, especially philosophy, social sciences, as well as behavioral sciences. In an interview Revisor 3 told me they authors' edit mostly manuscripts in the humanities, social sciences, education, theology and sociology, but during fieldwork Revisor 3 also noted that "I try to do a bit of everything, but I mostly prefer to work on humanities and social sciences texts".

During my fieldwork, 40 freelancers worked for the Unit actively (interview with the language revision coordinator), but there was a lot of variation in how much the freelancers work. According to the coordinator, some of the freelancers revise c. 100 pages per month, others do one journal article in a month. How much the freelance revisors work depends on their specialties and how much authors' editing they can and want to do in addition to their other work or fulltime jobs (for example, 10 of the freelancers work as teachers). According to Revisor 2, "the revision pool has people that specialize in different areas". Typically these areas cover fields the language revisors have been authors' editing for a long time or in which they have received a degree. Revisor 3 also notes that there are "generalists" who think that "the most important thing is the language".

Regarding authors' editing, the division of labor among both the three in-house language revisors and in-house and freelance language revisors is mostly based on the topics and fields of the manuscripts and to a lesser degree on genre. However, most of the grant applications, especially the highly prestigious ones, such as the European Research Council (ERC) grant applications are typically authors' edited by the in-house language revisors. Despite this, the language revision coordinator recalls that there have been times when ERC applications have been outsourced due to time constraints or because the freelance language revisors' expertise matched more closely the applicant's field of research. Some of the freelance language revisors also offer consultation on writing grant applications, and these are typically those freelancers who also teach how to write the application genre in English. The language revision coordinator lists the freelancers' field-specific specialties and the "no-no" fields of the freelance revisors. Based on the list, the coordinator commissions authors' editing from those freelancers whose expertise or interests most closely match the manuscript's field. According to Revisor 1, lately the trend has been that the freelancers do "more and more" of the authors' editing commissions, which Revisor 1 thinks seems like a good progression since then the manuscripts are most likely edited by "more specialized" language revisors.

Having now described the people and site I studied, in the next section, I will reflect upon the ethical considerations I have had to take into account while conducting my research.

3.3 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In my research I adhere to principles of good academic practice in collecting, processing and storing data and in presenting the findings of my research. I commit to the principles regarding responsible conduct of research as outlined by the Finnish Advisory Board of Research Integrity (TENK) in 2019. The ethical guidelines drawn by TENK (2019) outline the general ethical principles for research with human participants. While it has been my strong incentive to comply to the principles, some of them have proved challenging to navigate when carrying out ethnographic research. In this section I outline the major ethical challenges I have faced during the course of the research project and my attempts to balance the rights of my research participants and my own freedom to do research.

The TENK guidelines (2019, p. 51) instruct obtaining informed consent as a central guideline for "situations where the participant interacts with the researcher". In this study, informed, written consent has been obtained from all informants who I have interviewed, observed and recorded. This includes all my primary participants, i.e. the Unit's four translators and one freelance translator, three language revisors, the language revision coordinator, the Unit director and the Unit director's manager (head of the organization), five

authors of scholarly manuscripts (analyzed in chapter 8), as well as dozens of people who have taken part in the seminars and meetings I have recorded.

In addition to the participants listed above, there have been numerous unknowing participants who have come to participate in my research through the texts they have authored. Most of them have remained anonymous to me since I have made no attempts to track them and hence have not attempted to obtain informed consent from them. These are authors whose texts I have observed being translated or authors' edited during fieldwork. Extracts from these texts have been used sparingly in the analyses, and my inclination has been to include only short stretches of text or make an effort to disguise the extracts to the degree that even the authors could not recognize themselves. These measures have included, e.g. omitting information from the extracts. In addition to these, I have collected different versions of entire text documents that have been sent to the Unit for translation or authors' editing. Some of the authors of these texts, too, have remained anonymous to me since they have not been credited in the published texts. This pertains especially to texts sent to the Unit for translation. Contrary to most of the authors of texts that were translated during my fieldwork, I am aware of the identity of the authors whose texts I have included as data to analyze the practice of authors' editing. Despite this, I have made no attempt to obtain informed consent from them. While there are perfectly well-grounded arguments for the need to obtain consent from these authors as well, I have refrained from doing so for the following reasons.

First, the TENK (2019) guidelines instruct on obtaining informed consent especially in situations in which the researcher interacts with the participants, which was not the case in the collection of these texts. Second, these are texts that are aimed for publication. These texts do not contain sensitive personal information, nor do they contain information that could potentially hurt the author. In addition to these reasons, I was inclined not to contact those authors whose identity is known to me because not informing them was a way to protect the privacy of my primary participants. I have collected in total 18 text trajectories, and while most of them are single authored, many have also been co-authored with someone, one even by as many as four authors. Having to track down each and every author to ask for their consent would have made the location of my study site and the identity of my participants known to dozens of people – and been laborious and time-consuming. Because of these reasons I chose to refrain from obtaining consent from the authors of these texts. That being said, I have taken measures to protect the identity of all my participants, be they knowingly or unknowingly part of my research.

All primary participants have been given pseudonyms and named by the position they occupy in the studied community. When necessary, they have been given numbers based on the order in which I made contact with them (e.g. Translator 2, Revisor 3). Some of the members occupy special positions in the Unit and are referred to by their title (Senior translator, Language revision coordinator, Unit director). In addition, the name of my study

location is withheld and only referred to as "the Unit" and "the University". Similarly to the primary participants, the more rarely occurring participants have been given a name that reflects their relationship with the Unit or its members (Freelance translator 1, Seminar convenor 1, Lead author). All directly identifying personal information has been removed or disguised. Some potentially identifiable information containing indirect identifiers has been categorized or modified to withhold participants' identities. Some indirect identifiers have also been excluded completely; these include, e.g., participants' age and gender. In presenting examples extracted from the text data that were eventually published, I have either replaced potentially identifying content words with more general ones, for example, *The Southern Ostrobothnia – [area]* or *EU – [acronym]* or omitted them completely. The effectiveness of these anonymization procedures has been tested by doing searches on the extracts on different platforms with search engines, and the extracts have been modified and disguised until the searches proved unsuccessful.

In my research I also follow the principles of the General Data Protection Regulation issued by the European Parliament and Council of the European Union in collecting, processing and storing data. All participants who have knowingly participated in my research and from whom I have obtained written consent (after May 2018[6]) have been informed about the processing of their personal data. The privacy notice I used to inform my participants, and the consent form I used with my primary participants in interviews are reproduced in Appendices A and B.

One of the other main guidelines in the principles regarding responsible conduct of research (TENK 2019, p. 59) is that the researcher conducts the research in a way that avoids causing risk and harm to participants. Because of this principle, most of topics deemed too sensitive have been excluded from my analysis altogether, with few exceptions. While measures have been taken to protect my participants' identity, there is the potential danger that the participants are recognized. During my fieldwork in the Unit, there were many people coming and going who were informed who I was and what I was doing there. Moreover, I am aware that some of my participants have told their family and friends that they have taken part in a research project. In addition to these, many freelancers affiliated with the Unit have partaken in seminars which the Unit's employees have organized and which I recorded and where I informed participants about my research. Hence the analysis that follows steers clear of any potentially harmful topics (despite those that will be

[6] The Regulation became enforceable on 25 May 2018. I have not made any attempts to inform those participants who have participated in seminars or interviews I recorded before May 2018 as the regulation states that the obligation to inform all participants whose personal data is being processed can be waived when personal data is being processed to do "scientific and historical research", and if "the provision of information to the data subject proves to be impossible or would involve a disproportionate effort" (EU General data protection regulation GDPR 2016/679) .

discussed below), which were rare overall, and mostly focuses on those aspects of the language professionals' work that could be best characterized as everyday or mundane. The potential risk of recognition has also been discussed with the primary participants throughout the process. All primary participants have also had the opportunity to read the analysis chapters, and have agreed that the potential risk does not impose any harm on them.

In chapters 4 and 5, I depict an incident that, while not necessarily proving detrimental for the individual, could hurt their feelings and cause unwanted dispute between the individual and the Unit staff. In the incident, Senior translator criticizes one of the Unit's freelance translators. The description of the incident has been stripped of any directly identifiable references to the individual and any concrete examples of the text the freelancer was asked to translate. This is in order to protect their anonymity and the relationship the Unit's translators have with the freelancer. What remains are extracts from the discussion I had about the translation with Senior translator and a reference to the consequences the freelancer faced after the incident. I have asked Senior translator to carefully read through the sections in which I depict the incident and together we have concluded that the measures taken are enough to disguise the identity of the freelancer.

Another potentially sensitive example I decided to include because of its importance in illustrating the range of services offered by the Unit's language revisors. This exception is the text trajectory (TT) on "Activity" analyzed in chapter 8. This data set is exceptional first because it is more extensive than the data sets I have collected on any other text production process. It contains four and a half versions of an article which was eventually successfully submitted to a journal, 73 emails between the lead author (Lead author) and different brokers involved in the paper's production, two referee decision documents, an interview with Lead author and 55 pages of Lead author's personal research diary. The nature of the data is also exceptional. The data set contains highly sensitive personal information, especially in the form of Lead author's diary. All data has been provided to me by either Revisor 2 or Lead author, and from both I have obtained an informed consent, as well as informed them of the processing of personal data. In addition to being overwhelmed by the sheer volume of data I received, I was also slightly apprehensive and deeply humbled by the trust put on me to protect the confidentiality of the people involved. Because of the precariousness of Lead author's position (Lead author is a junior scholar who works on a fixed-term contract), all the anonymization measures depicted above were exploited and no other actor involved in the process (the second author nor the editors of the special issue) was contacted to obtain consent in order to protect the identity of Lead author. In addition, the analysis on TT on "Activity" has been made available for Lead author who has had a chance to comment upon the effectiveness of the anonymization measures. They have agreed that the examples presented in this thesis do not pose any harm on them.

Besides the two exceptions mentioned above, there are three extracts in chapter 5 in which the interviewee in question has asked me not to provide their speaker code. This is because, in the extracts, the interviewee felt some views they expressed were somewhat critical, and they did not want the object of the criticism to be able to trace the words back to them specifically. While the extracts reflect the interviewee's thoughts about another unit in the University (with whom they closely collaborate) at the time, they told me that in 2021, their collaboration processed "more smoothly", and hence the interviewee did not want to stir up any antagonism. The speaker code used in these extracts is [Tra], short for translator (all speaker codes are listed in Appendix C).

Throughout the research project member checks (providing the opportunity to comment on findings) have been conducted with the primary research participants. Immediately after the fieldwork, I outlined the main themes which I presumed I would focus on and had a discussion (which I recorded) with the language professionals as a group. Some of the later member checks have also been recorded to aggregate more data on topics that were deemed important for the project. Furthermore, my participants have received materials I have presented in conferences or (aim to have) published and have had the opportunity to comment upon the materials. The main rationale has been that my participants not only get an opportunity to comment on the soundness of my interpretations and analytical choices, but also that they can draw my attention to any details that might give away their identities so that those sections can be modified accordingly. The analysis chapters presented in this version of the thesis have been made available for my primary participants who have had an opportunity to comment on the analysis and suggest changes. Most of the suggestions were incorporated into the analysis as they provided a more detailed image of the events and happenings, and the meanings assigned to them in the Unit. Some of the anonymization measures, such as the withholding of a speaker code mentioned above, were brought on by the member checks.

In the next section I present the data sets I have collected and describe how they have been processed for analysis.

3.4 DATA SETS AND DATA COLLECTION

In this section I present the different types of data (Table 1) I have collected and describe the order in which the data collection proceeded.

The order of the subsections below resembles vaguely the temporal order in which the data sets were collected. But since ethnography is an iterative method, the data collection methods do not fall neatly into a sequential order. Rather, data collection proceeded organically, and many types of data were collected on more than one occasion. Table 1 illustrates the different types of data collected as part of this research project.

Table 1 *Data sets collected for the project*

Interviews	Audio recordings and notes	15 interviews / 11 interviewees
Participant observation on the site	Fieldwork notes	104 pages (handwritten)
	Fieldwork diary entries	35 pages
	Fieldwork report (provided to advisors)	13 pages
	Audio recordings	3 recordings
	Video recordings of participants' on-screen activities	24 recordings
Seminars	Audio recordings	3 recordings
Texts	Versions of documents	18 text trajectories
	Email correspondence	16 correspondence threads
	Policy document, report, instructions, decisions, legislation	11 documents
	Lead author's research diary	55 pages
Photographs	Working and office spaces	25 pcs.

3.4.1 INTERVIEW DATA

Interviews are the first type of data I collected for the research project. As noted above, the data collection began by conducting two interviews with the Unit director. The first interviews with the language professionals (n=7), with Language revision coordinator and Unit director's manager were conducted in Spring and Summer 2017. The interviews were semi-structured (for an example of an interview guide, see Appendix D for Finnish version and Appendix E for English version), and I made an effort to make the interaction as conversation-like and informal as possible. While the first interviews functioned as a way of establishing rapport with the participants, they also provided crucial bits of information through which I began trying to understand my participants' work from their perspectives. First interviews (before entering the field) were conducted with Unit director, Language revision coordinator, Senior translator, Translator 2, Freelance translator 1, Translator 4, Revisor 1, Revisor 2 and Revisor 3 and Unit director's manager (in this order). After fieldwork, interviews were conducted with Revisor 2, Senior translator and Translator 4. Finally, I interviewed Lead author in June 2020 via Zoom.

In total there are 15 interviews with 11 participants. All except Revisor 3's interview were audio recorded (they preferred not to be recorded but consented for me to take notes). All the audio recorded interviews were transcribed, translated (by me if needed) and stored electronically (for procedures to make the processing of data sets secure and GDPR compliant, see Appendix A). All direct identifiers were removed from the transcripts, and

some passages included in this thesis with potentially identifying indirect identifiers were modified to protect the identity of my participants.

3.4.2 FIELDWORK NOTES, FIELDWORK DIARY AND FIELDWORK REPORT

Fieldwork notes, the diary I kept besides the notes and the fieldwork report I produced at a half-way point during my fieldwork were the primary means through which I kept a record of the happenings in the field and reflected upon them. I began my fieldwork on Monday 20 November 2017 and spent two days each week until 5 March 2018 on the site. The main function of fieldwork notes was to keep a record *in situ* of the happenings on the site. In the vignette below I describe how making fieldnotes proceeded. The vignette is based on the (Finnish language) fieldwork report I submitted to my advisors on 25 January 2018, about midway through my fieldwork.

> I entered the field trying to keep an open mind so that I wouldn't predetermine what I will observe on the field. I had, however, established some preliminary points of departure in order to get things started. These included the language professionals' collaboration among each other, their routines, and chunking their work process into phases. Nearly all notes collected thus far have been scribbled in two office rooms right next to each other, the other room is where the translators work, and the other is reserved for the language revisors. The only exceptions to these have been the three office meetings I observed and a couple of seminars I was able to participate in.
>
> At first, I thought I would try to get a more general feeling of the atmosphere in both rooms and how the collaboration among each group of practitioners works. Very soon it became obvious that this arrangement only highlighted my status as an outsider observer. The interaction I observed was scarce and appeared over-conscious, people seemed to chew open their communication among each other. They would say things like, "Now I will ask you Translator 3, can you do content [ottaa asiaan – do a content check] for this text on x?" Their working became almost like a performance. I decided to change my tactic after spending half a day alone with one of the language revisors. On that day the other two language revisors were not present due to sick leave, and so I ended up observing solely the work of this one person. Relatively quickly after sitting down to observe how they worked on their computer, the language revisor started to verbalize the changes and corrections they made to the text. At first these expanded into very long conversations. After they got used to my presence and started to concentrate on the work for longer periods of time, I began to write down the changes they introduced into the text. In addition, I wrote down aspects of the context, typically the sentence or phrase in which the changes occurred, i.e. what surrounded, preceded or followed the segment into which the change was introduced. I also made notes about any commenting the language revisor made about the text or the changes.
>
> I will continue making these kinds of notes as it seems to work well with text production that involves different types of corrections. The notes work particularly well in keeping a record of the changes introduced in language

> revision, both during the first phase (1st read or "heavy lifting" as one of the revisors calls it) and the second phase (2nd read or "check"). It also works when making notes of the content check [asiatarkistus] the translators perform on each other's texts, and in general with keeping a record of any kinds of self or other revision phases the practices contain. The technique, however, is not directly applicable for making notes of the translation process itself because of my all-too-human limitations. Keeping track of both the original and the translation, as well as including enough context so that the notes would make any sense later is too slow and laborious. I have had to decide what is relevant and worth my attention from the point of view of language regulation in the translation process and focus my energy on those aspects.
>
> This led me to begin to redirect my focus onto the resources used during the translation process. I decided to focus first and foremost on situations where the translators' "mental" resources are not enough to solve the translation problem. In practice I made notes of every incident in which the translators consulted the translation memory, dictionaries, google, a colleague, etc. I also write down situations when I notice the translators struggling to come up with a translation and ask them to verbalize their thought process if they do not already do so spontaneously. In general, I also do my best to record all verbalized evaluations and commenting I hear on the field, be they related to translation or language revision or to the work community and its functions more generally. Of course, I can't write down everything, but I try to keep a record of things that have something to do with the "hotspots" I feel deserve a closer inspection.

The fieldwork notes functioned as a way for me to record what was going on in the field and guide my attention to aspects that could open avenues for further investigation. By making notes I identified "hotspots" (Sari Pietikäinen, 2017, personal communication) or "rich points" (Agar, 1995). These were things that somehow baffled me, or that I could not completely understand when encountering them in the field. Like Blommaert and Dong (2010, p. 41) note, I had reached the boundaries of my own cultural and social conventions and fallen outside of my "established, familiar categories of understanding". I took this as an indication that I needed to delve deeper in investigating such phenomena. I reflected upon the rich points in my fieldwork diary entries, tried to make sense of them and contemplated on the best ways of gaining more data on them. The vignette below, again taken from the fieldwork report, depicts how I employed the fieldwork diary to help me make sense of the events I came across in the field.

> In addition to fieldwork notes, I keep a fieldwork diary into which I write down my impressions of the day and more extensive versions of the conversations I've had with the language professionals. The length of the entries varies considerably. They range from half a page to up to ten pages (the longer ones often already contain data as well, such as photographs and emails, as well as preliminary analysis on them). Before the actual entry I list key words, one or two per paragraph, to ease locating the right entries during the coding and

> analysis phases. I feel like the most important function of the diary is to direct my attention. Into the diary I document observations that I realize are worthy of more extended reflection. By keeping track of these in the diary, it's easier to initiate conversations on these topics, direct more observation onto these issues or collect other types of data of these phenomena.

At the time of writing the fieldwork report, I had identified three potential rich points. These were listed in the report as 1) the "good" translation, 2) journal articles facing rejection or revise and resubmit decisions (based on negative language-related feedback) after the papers had already been authors' edited and 3) the resources and affordances in the translation and authors' editing processes. The first rich point grasped my attention when a rare incident happened to occur during my fieldwork – the translators needed more freelance translators and decided to invite potential candidates to do a translation test. I was able to collect the test material, the five candidates' translations and audio record Senior translator and Revisor 1 evaluating the test translations first on their own and later in a meeting together with Translator 3. This particular case was not included in the analysis chapters due to space limitations, but it did direct my attention to the roles the language professionals adopted while evaluating the translations. I noticed that

> [t]he translators and language revisor evaluate the successfulness of the translation primarily from the point of view of how much work they would have to do if the text was to be bilingually or monolingually revised by them. The two translators and the language revisor use different criteria to evaluate the test translations. The translators rewarded candidates for coming up with the right terminology or for being concise and punished them for using wrong terms, translating off the topic and for making false interpretations of the text. The language revisor knows Finnish but appeared not to put too much weight on equivalence. Rather, their primary criteria seemed to be that the text "flowed from one sentence to the next" and was understandable from the point of view of (especially foreign, non-native English-speaking) readers. Their favorite translation employed plain language, opened up the topic to non-Finnish readers and contained language that was "beautiful" and "clear". The translators, however, did not rate this translation very highly since the candidate "made up terms". The translators' favorite was, from the point of view of the language revisor "playing it safe" and taking "zero risks". At one point, Senior translator noted that "I think we look at it from a different perspective".

This case made me develop an interest in the indexes of quality through which the language professionals evaluated translations. It focused my attention to the different norms and ideals that guide the translation of different genres.

> At the moment I understand the translations to comprise of two subcategories: administrative texts and communications texts. These are further divided into subcategories. These two main categories seem to be distinguishable through different normative frameworks the language professionals draw on in the text

> production. The administrative texts highlight uniformity and close equivalence with the original Finnish language text as well as with other texts addressing similar topics. The production of communications texts, on the other hand, is marked by a strong desire to make them as communicative as possible. In these texts, the translators try to open up the text to a foreigner and sometimes clearly depart from the original in order to be able to do so. The translators also use different translation memories when translating these two types of texts.

The diary also directed my attention to the distribution of responsibilities in the mediation of norms and maintenance of standards that were developed locally. Eventually, these were themes that run through the thesis, but are especially pronounced in chapters 5 and 6. This rich point also made me develop an interest in the distribution of labor in the authors' editing process. It also incentivized me to frame the analysis by thinking about the actions of language revisors through the roles they either take on or are assigned during the process. I take up this theme in chapter 7.

I came across the second rich point when I noticed how the language revisors kept bringing up cases in which an authors' edited text received negative comments on language during peer review. Not only did the phenomenon sound interesting in itself, but I noticed that the language revisors themselves were actively trying to understand what was going on in these situations. The topic had been discussed in a professional conference in 2018 and in May the Unit's staff organized a seminar on the topic. I will describe the data collection process around this theme in more detail in chapter 8.

I had identified the last of the three rich points fairly early on during fieldwork. I was forced to focus my attention to things I was able to keep track of during the translation process. When I began to focus on the resources the language professionals used and the affordances that the ways of working created, I realized that the language professionals were not only collaborating with each other but also with the materials they engaged with during the translation and authors' editing processes. What is more, they seemed to be distributing responsibilities not only to each other or other human participants but to the technologies they used in the practices. These observations eventually formed the bedrock of chapters 4 and 5.

Blommaert and Dong (2010, p. 37) observe that fieldwork notes and diaries are "an archive of ethnographic research". The data compiled into these are the "material memory of fieldwork" and their purpose is to document what the ethnographer learns and how they learn. Fieldwork notes and diaries "tell us a story about an epistemic process" (Blommaert and Dong, 2010 p. 37). Through these materials the ethnographer makes sense and tries to understand the social world they set out to study. In the fieldwork notes and diaries, the ethnographer begins the learning process by first making sense of things through their "own interpretative frames, concepts and categories, and gradually shifting into new frames, making connections between earlier and

current events, finding our way in the local order of things" (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 37). Of course, the process does not stop there. The materials the ethnographer collects during fieldwork and the emic understanding developed by conducting fieldwork needs to be contrasted with the etic understanding. In the analysis, the ethnographer needs to be able to shift between these points of views to produce a holistic account of the analyzed phenomena. This point will be elaborated in section 3.5.

3.4.3 RECORDINGS

My data contains six audio recordings (in addition to the audio recorded interviews discussed above). Three of the audio recordings are from seminars organized by the Unit's language revisors, their duration is on average two hours each. The first seminar was organized in March 2017, the second in May 2018 and the third in October 2018. The two latter seminar recordings are drawn on in chapters 7 and 8. The three other recordings are related to the testing of freelancer candidates and the test translations' evaluation. In one of the recordings, Senior translator also goes through one of the Unit's freelance translator's work and evaluates its successfulness. In total these three recordings contain approximately 100 minutes of material.

All except the first seminar have been transcribed. Parts of the Finnish language transcription have been translated[7] by me for the purposes of reporting and all transcriptions have been stored electronically (original data sets in external hard drives in locked facilities and versions used in analysis in cloud storage provided by the University of Helsinki). All direct identifiers have been removed from the transcripts, and some passages have been modified to protect the participants' identities.

During fieldwork I also collected 24 video recordings of the language professionals working on their computer. The video recordings were made with Open Broadcasting Software (OBS) by installing it on the participants' computer and making screen recordings of them working. The duration of individual video recordings ranges from 20 minutes to eight hours. The video recordings have not been used in the analysis and have not been transcribed. This is because the processing of such material was deemed too time-consuming, and I have not, as of yet, been able to come up with a sufficient way of presenting such material in a textual form. Processing extensive amounts of such material would have also required considerable resources, i.e. a research assistant, and such resources were not available during the course of the project.

[7] Original Finnish language interview extracts have been provided in Appendix F for those extracts that have been translated into English.

3.4.4 TEXT DATA

As the thesis is about rewriting, the analysis draws heavily on different kinds of texts. Atkinson et al. (2008, p. 5) note, "in literate societies the ethnographer may well draw on textual materials as sources of information and insight into how actors and institutions represent themselves and others". The texts were produced by the language professionals to eventually be published (text trajectories) and to negotiate issues that arise during the text production processes (emails). In addition to these, I have collected texts that regulate how the language professionals should work and what their work should entail (documents).

Text trajectories

The textual data I collected comprises of 18 text trajectories, by which I mean co-produced versions of texts to the production of which many actors have contributed (Blommaert 2001, 2005). Some of these text trajectories also contain email correspondence in which the co-producers negotiate the writing process with each other. Eight of the text trajectories focus on authors' editing, and contain two or more versions of the same manuscript. The two versions I always collected were the two versions produced by the language revisor as they worked on the text, but some text trajectories also include the published text. One of them[8] contains considerable amounts of other material, including an interview with Lead author (full description of the data set in chapter 8). I analyze author's edited versions of texts in chapters 7 and 8. The first author's edited versions comprise of in total 227 pages, and the data also includes some later versions of the manuscripts (the number of later versions varies). 10 of the text trajectories focus on translation (six press releases, one administrative document, two degree program curricula and the five test translations). They typically contain versions produced by one translator primarily responsible for the translation, a version produced in bilingual revision by another translator and a version produced by a language revisor carrying out monolingual revision for the text. In chapter 6 I analyze four text trajectories on translation (two press releases and two course descriptions each containing three versions). The first versions of the text data analyzed chapter 6 consist of 282[9] pages of text, and also include later versions. The text trajectory on test translations contains the original Finnish language test text and five candidates' translations with evaluative markings made by the Unit's language professionals in the margins (not used in the analysis due to space limitations). Most of the text data was collected during fieldwork, but some of the texts had been produced before my data collection began and two of the text trajectories

[8] This particular text trajectory could also be called a text history because it contains many kinds of other data in addition to the text trajectory (Lillis and Curry, 2010; Lillis and Maybin, 2017).

[9] Not all translated text trajectory data was analyzed (or even coded) as extensively as the material used to analyze authors' editing. Instead, in the analysis of curricula data, I selected sections of texts for closer analysis (see a detailed description of the data set in chapter 6).

on authors' editing were collected in 2020, after I realized I needed additional data for the analysis presented in chapter 7.

Email correspondence
Closely related to the text trajectories is the email correspondence in which the language professionals negotiate work proceedings with each other, their clients, or in which the authors correspond with journal editors. Not all text trajectory data contain email correspondence. Emails have been used most extensively in the analyses in chapter 8, and to some degree in chapter 7.

Document data
Besides the data types discussed above, my data contain 10 documents I consider meaningful for the work that the Unit's language professionals do. These documents include the Universities Act, an institutional language policy document, one report drawn to aid in planning the development of language support services in the University, two versions of instructions for clients commissioning authors' editing services from the Unit, and two in-house guidelines drawn to instruct employees on how to carry out translation and authors' editing in the Unit. These seven documents are all either directly related to the Unit and its work procedures or to the University and to its operations that involve language. The other three documents I have collected are referee decision documents in which authors receive feedback for the manuscript they have submitted into peer review.

Next I move on to describe the methods of analysis used in the thesis.

3.5 METHODS OF ANALYSIS IN ETHNOGRAPHY

There is no standard methodology for analyzing ethnographic data. The process is iterative and recursive, and as noted, starts when the ethnographer is in the field. This is because ethnographic analysis is not just about analyzing pieces of data, it is also the learning process that the ethnographer goes through. This is the reason why fieldnotes, diaries and reports are so important. These materials document how the ethnographer comes to understand the ways of the community they participate in and how the participants make sense of the world. Ethnographic analysis is about coming across interesting happenings and doings and trying to understand what is going on. It is about connecting pieces of information, almost like a jigsaw puzzle, and trying to form a coherent reconstruction (Blommaert and Dong, 2010, p. 30-31). Goetz and LeCompte (1984, p. 166) observe that "[t]he process of data analysis in ethnography has been treated as art rather than science". Ethnographic analysis, as well as other forms of qualitative analysis, is a creative process in which the analysist needs to be able to move between descriptive and interpretative forms analysis.

Goetz and LeCompte (1984, p. 168) argue that in the early stages of the analysis process, i.e. in the field, it is best to adopt "a studied naïveté" that allows the ethnographer to consider the events and happenings as if they were somehow extraordinary and potentially significant. This stance not only allows the ethnographer to keep an open mind and be ready to consider everything as potentially important, but also makes room for the participants' point of view. Once the ethnographer has gradually become more familiar with the setting and the people, they can focus more intensely on rich points – on the unexpected, incomprehensible and surprising that departs from expectations (Agar, 1980, 2006). As the ethnographer aggregates data on these topics, they also actively engage in inductive (generating propositions/theories based on data) and/or deductive (find data to test propositions/theories) reasoning (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984, p. 4, 172). The reasoning aids in verifying existing analysis and in informing data collection.

After leaving the field, the ethnographer begins by doing analytic induction (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984, p. 179). Essentially this "involves scanning the data for categories", generating properties and attributes for the categories based on what is shared or distinctive in comparison to other categories and then using these core properties to develop abstract definitions for a category (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984, p. 170). In the following sections on coding and analysis, I explain how I arrived at my own categories. Analytical induction is followed by descriptive analysis, it is about establishing links and relations among the discovered categories, describing how incidents and actions are associated or cause one another (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984, p. 172). Goetz and LeCompte (1984, p. 172) claim that this stage involves detective work: following hunches, thinking intuitively, ruling out things.

In the later stages, the ethnographic analysis transcends from being "merely descriptive" to being interpretative, i.e. the analysis should move beyond the data (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984, p. 196). This is the stage in which ethnographers engage in theorizing. It builds on the earlier stages, but also involves playing with the data. This is "informed guesswork" that is based on the earlier processes and comprises of creating "chunks of data" and fitting related pieces together in order to build more abstract constructs (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984, p. 172–173). This is also the stage in which the ethnographer might engage in speculation. Speculation, Goetz and LeCompte (1984, p. 173) argue, is "the basis for hypothesizing". As already noted, hypothesizing and inductive reasoning are at the core of ethnographic analysis and potential explanations are created and tested throughout the study.

At this stage, however, the interpretation needs to shift to another gear. This is the stage in which the ethnographer moves beyond the data by drawing on both earlier research on the topic as well as on formal and folk theories. This stage is about the "so what?" In this stage the ethnographer needs to establish the significance of the study, both in terms of the bearing the findings might have for the lives of the people being studied, but also in terms of building and refining scholarly knowledge of the phenomenon. This is also the

stage that requires the ethnographer to dive into abductive reasoning and embrace divergent thinking, without falling into "wild guesses" or "long-shot connections" (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984, p. 197). Instead, the ethnographer needs to ground their interpretations on the earlier processes of reasoning and move beyond the data by establishing connections to existing knowledge in order to develop the etic ways of understanding the studied phenomenon.

While there are no established or standardized methods for analyzing ethnographic data, there are many analysis methods that can be used to analyze certain types of data and can thus be useful for doing ethnography. In the following sections I describe how the analysis of different data sets proceeded.

3.5.1 CODING

All data types have been coded (with the help of software explicated below). Most of the data was in electronic format, and those that were not (i.e. my own handwritten fieldwork notes, participants' post-it notes and the freelancer candidates' test translations) were first scanned into an electronic format. After the data was ready for processing, the data sets were either downloaded into Atlas.ti or manually transferred to Microsoft Excel. I used Atlas.ti to code the interviews, audio recordings, fieldwork notes, diary entries, fieldwork report, email correspondence and documents. Atlas.ti is a qualitative data analysis and research software, which I used to identify recurring themes and organize them thematically. To exemplify the categorization process, in the coding of interviews, the most frequent codes included *indexes of quality, specialization, organization of work* and *resources*.

Although, Atlas.ti and Excel were the main software I used in coding, there was one exception. Lead author's research diary was coded straight in the Microsoft Word document. In addition, the diary was not coded in its entirety as Lead author had already marked relevant sections for my study.

Out of the text trajectory data I selected nine texts (or sections of texts) for closer analysis. The selection criteria are explained in the chapters that cover analysis of text trajectory data. The selected (sections of) texts were then manually transferred into Microsoft Excel for coding. I will provide a more detailed description of the analysis of text trajectories in section 3.5.3.

3.5.2 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse analysis was the main method of analysis with all discourse data, as well as in the analysis of documents and email correspondence. Furthermore, the analysis of discourse data has been informed by the contextualization ethnographic fieldwork can provide. In conducting discourse analysis, I follow the perspective developed by Blommaert (2005, p. 233) – "a perspective on language as intrinsically tied to context and to human activity". According to Blommaert (2005, p. 233-234), the operationalization of such a perspective

requires "'stepping out' of linguistics as an approach privileging textual-linguistic artefacts, and 'stepping into' society, its history and structure".

Just like there is no standard procedure for ethnographic analysis, there is no widely accepted and operationalized *modus operandi* for discourse analysis either (Solin, 2001; Pietikäinen and Mäntynen, 2019). There is, however, a relatively well-established consensus that discourse analysis perceives language use as contextual, situational, historical, positioned and interested. In practice this means that analysis of language cannot be separated from the context in which it occurs. People use certain types of language in given situations, orient to things differently at different times, draw from their life experiences and personal histories in their language use and to perform particular stances or identities, as well as wield power with language. According to Blommaert (2005, p. 2), "discourse is language-in-action" and "meaningful symbolic behaviour". In essence this means that people use language to do things. The language professionals, for example, use language to evaluate, to value or disapprove, construe roles for themselves and other actors, as well as to rationalize their actions. In fact, discourses are often used to construe stances as natural, and discourse analysis untangles or "disrupts" these connections (MacLure, 2003, p. 9).

Blommaert (2005, p. 4) argues that discourse transforms the world we inhabit into something culturally meaningful to us. But importantly, Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2019, p. 14) also note that meanings assigned to language use are not stable, they can change and vary across contexts. Most discourse analysts also consider language as constructing the social, that the utterances we produce or words we type shape our understanding of the world. However, the perspective Blommaert (2005, p. 161) is proposing also stresses that discourses, as constructions with which we make sense of the world and do things, are not solely ideational, they are also "ideas produced by particular material conditions or instruments and performed in certain ways". In other words, the ideas (discourses, ideologies) and material conditions fuse into one another and interact in meaningful ways (Blommaert, 2005, p. 161). The meanings assigned to ideas manifest materially through institutionalization and practices (Blommaert, 2005, p. 162). As an example, the translators I studied ascribe to certain linguistic forms indexical meanings by constantly circulating them in the texts they translate. Through the constant entextualization and re-creation of intertextual linkages, the forms accrue prestige and come to index a traditional way of doing things, the Unit's standard. Without the standardization ideology, the indexes could not be created, but without the mediating practices the indexes would not accrue value. As Blommaert (2005, p. 164) notes, "[i]deas themselves do not define ideologies; they need to be inserted in material practices of modulation and reproduction". Because of these entanglements, Blommaert (2005, p. 163) argues that "[w]e need to investigate the ways in which the message is organised, mediated, modulated, and reconstructed by the ideological actors using it". This is why it is not enough to purely focus on the linguistic and solely

on the discursive. Blommaert (2005, p. 66) claims that it is not enough to study how language generates and reproduces the social, political and economic, we need to also understand how these societal structures generate language use.

3.5.3 TEXT ANALYSIS

I selected for closer textual analysis those text trajectories of which there were more than one version (produced by the language professionals) available for analysis. The selection of text trajectories also depended on the purpose of analysis. For example, for chapter 7 I needed to analyze the two phases of authors' editing so I needed text trajectories that contained at least two versions of the same text submitted for authors' editing. Furthermore, since I wanted to explore the differences between the two phases of authors' editing, I needed the analyzed text trajectories to contain two versions of the document saved after each phase. Even though I had collected author's edited texts from the language revisors, eventually there were only three text trajectories available that contained the two versions I needed[10]. Since I needed to categorize all interventions which the language revisors introduced into the text trajectories, I decided to include only parts of the texts and chose to analyze the introduction and conclusion sections. The sections were chosen since they were approximately of the same length and typically contain the author's own phrasing instead of frequent quotations from either academic literature or data.

For the analysis presented in chapter 6, the data contained more potential text trajectories that suited the objectives of the analysis than what I needed to carry out the analysis. In the analysis I wanted to explore the differences between the ways of translating two common genres which the Unit's translators were often commissioned to translate – the press release and the course description (in a curriculum). I had collected text trajectories from two translators, Translator 2 and Translator 4. As Translator 4 was newly recruited to the Unit, and thus might not have internalized all the norms governing translation in the Unit yet, I decided to select four text trajectories in which they acted as the first translator[11], as I expected I would be able to find more norm negotiations from these trajectories. As I still had to narrow down the trajectories to be analyzed, I decided to select texts that were topic-wise as different as possible. The analyzed translations of press releases were on medicine and archaeology. There were only two text trajectories related to course descriptions, but they each contained dozens of them. As the genre is quite repetitive, there were course descriptions in which the two revisors did not intervene in at all. However, as the objective was to gain a sense of how the revisors intervene in the translations, I selected two course description

[10] The language revisors do not normally store copies of the first phase, so I needed to explicitly ask them to do so for the purposes of the analysis.

[11] The translators' roles are explained in chapters 4 and 6.

trajectories that contained at least some interventions introduced by the two revisors.

The analysis of the text trajectory data began by transferring the data from Microsoft Word to Excel manually. Each sentence comprised an individual unit of analysis, and any comments made to the segment were inserted to the cell next to the segment. In the analysis of the translation text trajectory data, also the Finnish language original was included into the worksheet to allow comparison between the source and target text. After this I began the categorization. Each phase in the translation and authors' editing processes was categorized on its own worksheet. From each segment I identified changes made to the original, established categories for the changes the language professionals introduced and calculated their frequencies. In authors' editing these categories included e.g. *word order* and *prepositions*, as the interventions the language revisors introduced addressed these issues. After I had gone through the selected sections from both text trajectories, I began to establish abstractions for the categories in order to try to understand the norms governing the introduction of interventions. For example, the categories described above I labelled as *correctness*. A similar procedure was carried out in the analysis of the first phase of translation in the text trajectories, although the written report only includes those changes that were considered most relevant for the overall argument presented in the thesis. For the two subsequent phases, the bilingual and monolingual revision, the categorization proceeded similarly as depicted above. In translation the identified categories included, for example, *metaphor* and *collocation*, which were then abstracted into *semantics*. I also calculated the frequencies with which the language revisors and translators introduced the changes directly in the text or as comments (the analysis process is elaborated in more detail in chapters 6 and 7).

4 THE ELEMENTS OF TRANSLATION AND AUTHORS' EDITING

In this first analysis chapter, I begin my inquiry into how translators and language revisors regulate the language of the English-medium texts they produce as part of their work in the Unit. Similarly to the translators studied by Koskinen (2008), the translators and language revisors I studied operate in a highly institutionalized context and the work they do is an established part of the University's operations. The fact that translation and authors' editing take place in an institutionalized context encourages the analyst to focus on the recurring, repetitive and habitual nature of actions – in other words, to the ways in which translation and authors' editing are *routinely* carried out in conventionalized cycles of text production. In addition, the routinization of actions invites further exploration into what kind of effects the routinization of action might have for language regulation.

I embark on the analysis informed by practice theories (reviewed in chapter 2) that target the analytical spotlight onto "blocks" (Reckwitz, 2002) or "elements" (Shove et al., 2012) of which practices comprise. As noted in chapter 2, practices are patterned bodily and mental activities, objects and technologies and their use as well as various forms of practical and emotional knowledge that form configurations irreducible to any of the single elements (Reckwitz, 2002). Similarly to Olohan (2018), this chapter sets out to identify how these elements manifest in the practices of translation and authors' editing, and importantly, how they integrate. The analysis chapters that follow will build on these foundations and explore the effects that the identified configurations have for language regulation occurring in the practices of translation and authors' editing in the Unit, as well as the meanings assigned to these practices and the role of the practitioners in the University.

To understand the systematicity, that is the ways in which translation and authors' editing comprise of routinized and coherently organized activities as well as practical understandings, I begin the analysis by asking the following questions:

1a. How is translation and authors' editing carried out in the Unit?
1b. What kind of affordances or constraints do the ways of working create?

According to Hutchby (2001, p. 444), "affordances are functional and relational aspects which frame, while not determining, the possibilities for agentic action in relation to an object". Here, I use the concept of affordances to describe and reflect upon how forms of competence and materials enable the ways of working I observed in the Unit.

To understand what the practices under scrutiny comprise of and how they are carried out, one useful way to begin is to ask: who performs these activities, where, how? By taking practices and the elements they comprise of as central

units of investigation, my attention is not limited to what an individual translator or language revisor thinks or does, but instead allows me to analyze individual actions as part of a wider constellation of actions, in tandem with other actors' contributions and competences as well as the materiality of translation and authors' editing. Similarly to Shove et al. (2012, p. 10) who note that "agencies and competences are distributed between things and people, and that social relations are 'congealed' in the hardware of daily life". Aligning myself with a widely held understanding in translations studies, I too see agency not only as the property of individual humans, but as dispersed into communities, technology and other non-human things such as spaces and material objects in them (e.g. Kinnunen and Koskinen, 2010; Buzelin, 2011; Abdallah, 2012; Olohan, 2011, 2021; Ruokonen and Koskinen, 2017).

As noted, the chapter shares similarities with the analysis carried out by Olohan (2018). Olohan studied translators who performed English-language editing for scientific papers in a non-Anglophone European research organization. With observational data, Olohan draws on practice theory (Shove et al. 2012) to first conceptualize translation and editing, but also to establish similarities and differences among these and other practices that form the superordinate practices of scientific knowledge production and circulation. In the analysis presented in this chapter, I too employ practice theory to describe the elements that comprise translation and authors' editing as they are carried out in the Unit.

In the analysis that succeeds, I depart from traditional lines of inquiry on many fields of applied linguistics by "decentering the mind, texts and conversation" and instead focusing on "things, practical knowledge and routines" (Reckwitz 2002, p. 259). In my view, this point of departure provides a necessary contribution especially to the somewhat developing body of literature on authors' editing. I employ the elements of practice as suggested by Shove et al. (2012) and analyze the practices as constituted of competence (multiple forms of understanding and practical knowledgeability), materials (objects, infrastuctures, tools, hardware and the body itself), and meaning (the social and symbolic significance of participation at any one moment). The analysis presented in this chapter primarily addresses the first two elements, competence and materials, but also touches upon the meanings assigned to these. Meaning as an element of practice features and is further elaborated in the subsequent chapters (5, 6, 7, and 8).

4.1 COMPETENCE

The translators and language revisors do different kinds of work. Translators produce a new version of the source text in another language, i.e. they reproduce the meaning in a different social semiosis. In our first interview, Senior translator describes translation as "first having to break up the meaning into pieces and then build it again, it's not about replacing a word with

another". Earlier scholarship on translation has characterized translation as "rewriting" (Lefevere 1992, p. 2) texts. The rewriting at times requires that the translators modulate the way information is presented in the translated text (sometimes referred to as shifts, for a discussion see e.g. Munday, 2016). The way these modulations take place in translation in the Unit is discussed in detail in chapter 6. While the work carried out by the language revisors of the Unit could also be characterized as rewriting, does not produce new language versions, but rather recreates parts of texts already written in English. They monitor how English is used in texts and intervene in its usage whenever they think potential problems arise. The interventions can be triggered by language use that either does not communicate the meanings they presume the author wants to convey or when the language used produces indexes the language revisor anticipates could impede a favorable reading of the text (further elaborated in chapter 7). In other words, language revisors aid authors to formulate their ideas in ways that hopefully facilitate publication (see chapter 7). To be able to carry out their work, the language professionals have accrued different types of competence that I will now present and discuss.

4.1.1 BACKGROUND

The translators working in the Unit need to mediate the meanings made in one language into another. This requires knowledge about how both languages are used to communicate. The English translators in the community I studied are all native Finnish speakers. They have acquired their knowledge about the source language, Finnish, through first language acquisition. The knowledge they have about English, the target language, they have acquired through foreign language teaching in formal education, and later in higher education in language studies (Senior translator, Translator 2 and Freelance translator 1, interviews with translators) or in translation studies programs (Translator 4), as well as informally in their everyday lives. Translator 4 has completed a degree and Senior translator has taken courses in translation studies. After the transition from students into practitioners, the translators either deliberately or accidentally started working in specific fields of translation, thus further acquiring knowledge about the translation of texts in specific subfields, such as administrative, governmental or journalistic texts. Senior translator, for example, began as an intern in university administration and after that substituted the language revision coordinator in the Unit before securing a permanent position as a translator. Translator 2, on the other hand, had first worked in journalism as a translator of English and later as a freelance translator for the Unit. At the time of fieldwork, the main part of Translator 2's work was to translate press releases and intranet news in the Unit.

The career developments of translators are in stark contrast with the career paths of the language revisors. The language revisors working in the Unit are all native speakers of English. The language revisors working as in-house employees are all born and educated in North America (interviews with

language revisors), but some of the freelance language revisors come from other English-speaking countries, as well. All the in-house language revisors have acquired a university degree in their home countries and moved to Finland in adulthood. After moving to Finland, the language revisors have worked in very different fields; one as an English teacher, one worked first for a broadcasting company and later as a proofreader and one as a researcher in the humanities. A common denominator for all has been that at some point their friends or acquaintances asked them to do authors' editing work or informally asked for their help in language-related issues, and they realized they could make a career by helping others with their English-medium writing. They started to take on more and more jobs helping people with their English texts, either formally as employees of another language support provider, or informally to aid colleagues or friends with their writing. Eventually all three ended up in the Unit and have worked there either full- or part-time for well over a decade. To sum up, the language revisors share a first language, an Arts degree and the experiences of being able to help others with their English.

The need for authors' editing in academia has sparked an interest to study the practice, but despite this, at the moment, there is no widespread consensus among the various kinds of practitioners dispersed over the globe over what the service covers. There have been attempts to define what is included in the service (Shashok, 2001; Burrough-Boenisch, 2003; Burrough-Boenisch, 2013; Burrough-Boenisch and Matarese, 2013, p. 177; Matarese, 2016; Flowerdew and Wang 2016, p. 42), but these studies have not succeeded in establishing a commonly shared terminology that could enable comparisons across individual case studies. This has certain implications for the practitioners of authors' editing as well. Without shared terminology, distributing the tacit knowledge accrued by individuals to other practitioners is difficult. In the Unit, these tensions are visible also at the local level. In the Unit, authors' editing is carried out in solitude. Because of this, the language revisors are not habitually exposed to each other's ways of working (this point will be taken up and discussed in detail in chapter 7).

Based on the interview data, the translators and language revisors have primarily accumulated competence during the years they have worked as language professionals either in the Unit or elsewhere. Their socialization has, for the most part, occurred while working in the Unit. The socialization to this particular community has accrued into "multiple forms of understanding and practical knowledgeability" (Shove et al., 2012, p. 23) that guide individual acts of translation and authors' editing. The translators, however, also have more alike backgrounds geographically, educationally and culturally compared to the language revisors. The differences in what comprises competence in each of the two practices in the Unit creates affordances for the practice of translation to be mediated around shared "practical understandings" (what it is the language professionals are doing and why) and for translation to become more *institutionalized* and *coordinated* compared to authors' editing.

4.1.2 KNOWLEDGE

In addition to the competence that language professionals have built while being socialized into the profession through education, the language professionals also need another type of knowledge that is more local (on knowing in translation, see also e.g. Risku et al., 2010; Kiraly, 2012; Olohan, 2019, 2021). The translators and language revisors working in the Unit have tacit knowledge that has accumulated through repeated enactments of the practices, and that is passed on to new employees explicitly as instructions, or as newcomers observe and model the ways the day-to-day work is carried out and is talked about. As noted by Olohan (2019), the way the practices have been organized, e.g. who participates in the work processes and with whom the language professionals collaborate, and the materials used to carry out the work have a part to play in the development and passing on of shared ways of doing things. In this section I describe how the language professionals' physical surroundings and the people inhabiting the spaces store and distribute knowledge.

In the Unit, there is a clear division of labor between the English translators and language revisors. Each team has been placed in their own room: the four translators work in a slightly bigger room, and the three revisors are placed together in one, somewhat smaller room. In these rooms, each translator and revisor has their own desk, chair and often a few personal items, some work-related, such as self-bought reference material, post-it notes, calendars and coffee/tea mugs, some unrelated to work, such as photographs of kids and their drawings or (humorous) posters or landscape pictures.

Own desks and personal items draw boundaries between the individual and the rest of the team sharing the same room. Personalized workspaces allow the language professionals to custom the immediate work environment in a way that seems to help them to concentrate on their work; sitting or standing facing the wall and their backs turned to one another, placing to-do lists in places where you are forced to notice them and having reference material on the desk at hand the minute you need it. Especially the last two function as administrative remembering practices that we can assume they employ "to retain and retrieve required knowledge within the time limits imposed by the task at hand" (Yli-Kauhaluoma and Pantzar, 2015, p. 43). Part of the remembering, and knowledge, is distributed to the papers and books on the table, so that they are immediately retrievable but do not overload the working memory (see Figure 2). In both rooms there is also reference material and equipment for general use: books anyone can consult, magazines and balance boards that activate the body while working standing up. The freelance translators and language revisors do not work in the office spaces (discussed in detail in 4.2.2).

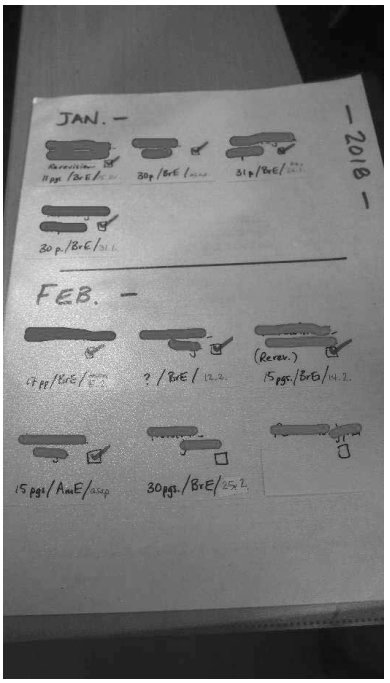


Figure 2 *Post-it notes organizing work*

Most of the Unit's staff are located in one corridor within one of the University's buildings. Besides the English translators and language revisors, four Swedish translators, one language revision coordinator and one language course coordinator work in the same corridor. The employees meet each other daily (unless they are telecommuting), they pop into one another's office to greet each other when they come in or to ask questions about the texts they work with, they meet in the break room to have lunch or go out for lunch together. The physical proximity of the community members creates affordances for collaboration. For example, the English translator and language revisor teams collaborate in the production of translations. The three revisors each have on-call days when they spend most of their work hours revising translated texts. As mentioned earlier, I distinguish the work the language revisors do together with the translators by calling it monolingual revision[12] and the work they do to aid researchers to publish academic manuscripts by referring to it as authors' editing (see further discussion on naming the latter practice in chapters 2 and 7). The language revisors are a crucial part of the production of translations and their contribution to the practice of translation is analyzed in detail in chapter 6.

[12] Some refer to this practice as unilingual revision (e.g. Mossop, 2007). In the edited volume by Koponen et al. (2020) both terms are in use.

The English translators also at times collaborate with the Swedish translator team. Typically, the translations of Finnish texts are commissioned into both English and Swedish. The different language versions are often produced, more or less, at the same time, making it convenient for the English translator to consult the Swedish translator working with the same text or vice versa. Below I provide a vignette of one such consultation.

> One of the Swedish translators came to the room to discuss the translation of a text both teams had been commissioned to translate. Translator 3 had been working on the particular text just moments ago. The Swedish translator was hesitant about how to translate a particular segment in the text that described superior-subordinate communication. The Swedish translator pondered whether it was a new thing or if the English translators had seen it mentioned somewhere in the University's texts before. The Swedish translator was asking this because they needed to determine whether to use the definite or the indefinite article when the term was first mentioned. The English translators agreed that they hadn't seen the term used before, and then went on to check how it had been translated in the English version. Translator 3 had used the indefinite article which the Swedish translator then decided to employ as well. Later, the Swedish translator popped in again, this time asking about tense changes in a PowerPoint document. The original used the future tense, but at the moment of translation, the date mentioned in the slides had passed, and the Swedish translator suggested a change in tense. Together the translators agreed that the tense should be changed and the change was introduced to the English translation as well it, since it had gone unnoticed by Senior translator who had translated the slides into English.

The vignette suggests that decisions made in translating one language version as well as knowledge accumulated during the translation process has the potential to influence how translation is carried out in the other language. The Swedish translators and the co-temporal translation of more than one language version seem to operate as a resource for the way in which translation is carried out. The incident depicted above also suggests it is important for the translators that the different language versions exhibit uniformity across languages.

The English and Swedish translators' offices are in close proximity, but not right next to each other, while the language revisors' room is located between the two translator teams' offices. When not collaborating with the translators but doing authors' editing, the language revisors work mostly with Language revision coordinator who is situated across the corridor from their room and who is in charge of the distribution of the work assignments, both to in-house revisors as well as to freelancer ones. The coordinator also keeps track of the feedback that the authors' editing clients are regularly asked to provide after the edited paper has been sent back to the client. The Unit's facilities also extend beyond the corridor. The Unit director and a person in charge of tailored language training are also part of the Unit's personnel, but their offices are behind a locked door on the other side of a staircase. Despite the fact that

their office spaces are separated from the rest of the Unit, they use the same breakroom and occasionally come and chat with other personnel in the corridor or office rooms. The Unit's administration is an active party defining the aims and objectives for translation and authors' editing both together with the language professionals and the University administration. The entire Unit also meets monthly in office meetings in which all in-house personnel take part to discuss current affairs. The physical proximity of all these actors creates affordances to share knowledge between the various people taking part in these practices.

The entire in-house staff of the Unit can be seen as a community where different actors collaborate with each other, but to varying degrees. If collaboration is thought of in terms of volume, some clear differences begin to emerge. If we restrict the discussion to the collaboration necessary for the production of English-medium texts in the Unit, a clear pattern becomes visible: during every enactment of translation, the Unit's translators cooperate with each other, with the language revisors, and more occasionally yet regularly, with the Swedish translators. In contrast, the language revisors do not collaborate with anyone in the Unit during the authors' editing process. This difference has also been noted by Olohan (2018) in her observations of translation and editing practices. The degree to which the practice contains collaboration with other practitioners either affords or constrains how much of the "practical understandings" can be shared with others carrying out similar tasks. Olohan (2018), too, regards collaboration as an inherent part of competence in translation. Similarly to Olohan (2018), I see the knowledge accrued in the enactment of translation as emerging from the negotiation of understandings that take place between translators and revisors as they take part in translation. And while physical proximity creates affordances for knowledge distribution, it alone does not create affordances for sharing knowledge with other practitioners acting as carriers of the same practice. What seems to be crucial for developing shared "practical understandings" is the need to be repeatedly exposed to other practitioners' ways of working, and to do so in particular ways. Paavola and Hakkarainen (2009, p. 85) have proposed that there are "trialogical" processes "where people are collaboratively and systematically developing shared, concrete "objects" together". These "shared objects" can be artefacts, practices, ideas, etc., but if what is being shared is an abstract idea, Paavola and Hakkarainen claim that it must be "externalized" in order to become shared.

Another crucial part of both language professionals' competence is the ability to make use of different kinds of materials, such as tools, artefacts and resources. Although it could be argued that competence and materials entangle with and fuse into one another, I will discuss materials in a separate section below.

4.2 MATERIALS

Translators and language revisors employ different kinds of materials in their work. The materials consist of artefacts, such as guideline documents and physical reference material, but also of electronic tools and online resources. Some resources, such as online dictionaries, are used in virtually every enactment of translation and authors' editing. The various reference resources also have different functions: some are used to look up terminology or to verify intuitive judgement calls, e.g. by checking them by using online dictionaries. For example, with texts that contain legislative jargon, the translators typically consult Finlex (Finland's Ministry of Justice owned online database of legislative and judicial information). In the extract below, Senior translator talks about the usage of different online resources.

Extract 1.

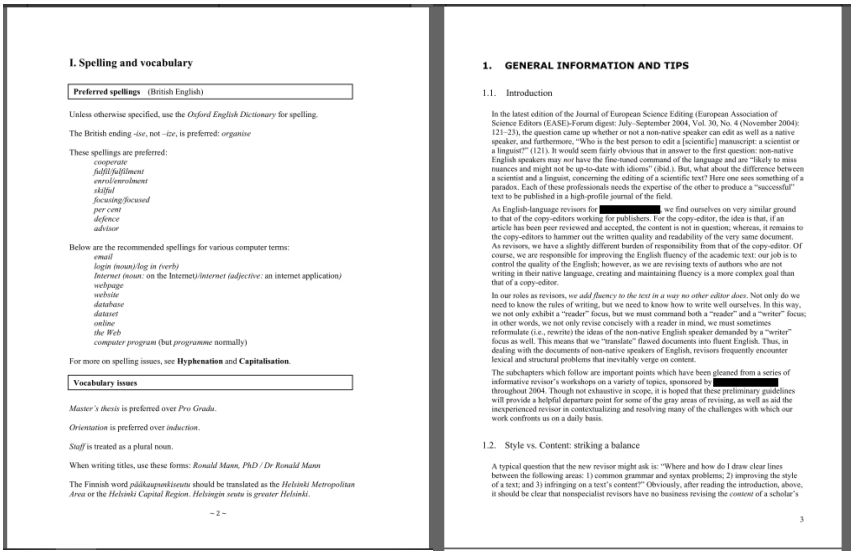
SenTra	the way we use language is regulated by , what is available , for instance on Finlex , we always check if they've made available translations for the legislation that refer to , the University Act of course but others as well . so , these things we always check
HMP	but it's , less defining , not really governing the work , you use it for checking particular terminology
SenTra	well yes . yes . but then , of course there are all kinds of authorities that we consult they can be Ministries' web pages or , these EU online resources . yeah , but that , we use the interned a lot . <whispering> Wikipedia as well @@[13]

The online resources are typically consulted whenever the language professionals need to translate or authors' edit texts that contain specialized terminology. This is the case especially with translation work, since the Unit's translators are responsible for the appropriateness of terminology in the translations they produce. The reference material can be anything as long as the resource can be considered authoritative enough in terms of the topic of the text under translation. In authors' editing, the responsibility for appropriate use of terminology lies with the authors, but occasionally the language revisors, too, consult online resources (see chapter 7 for a detailed discussion). However, the language professionals also use reference material to develop and reproduce writing conventions. The ways in which materials are used to conventionalize texts will be addressed in the next section.

[13] Transcription conventions are presented in Appendix C. In the thesis I use the word extracts to refer to stretches of discourse extracted from interviews, recordings, emails and policy documents. In addition, I use the word example when I present examples extracted from the texts the language professionals have worked on. The original Finnish language transcriptions are provided in Appendix E.

4.2.1 GUIDELINES

The language revisors often use *The Chicago Manual of Style*, but they also consult other manuals and guidelines, especially if the author they work with has specified which stylistic conventions are preferred or mandated by the journal into which they plan to submit their manuscript. Decisions over stylistic conventions are not left solely to external authorities, though. Both the English translators and the language revisors have their own, self-compiled guidelines called the *Style guide for translators* and *Revisor's guidelines*. Figure 3 reproduces the first pages of each document.



I. Spelling and vocabulary

Preferred spellings (British English)

Unless otherwise specified, use the *Oxford English Dictionary* for spelling.

The British ending *-ise*, not *–ize*, is preferred: *organise*

These spellings are preferred:
cooperate
fulfil/fulfillment
enrol/enrolment
skilful
focusing/focused
per cent
defence
advisor

Below are the recommended spellings for various computer terms:
email
login (noun)/log in (verb)
Internet (noun: on the Internet*)/internet (adjective:* an internet application*)*
webpage
website
database
dataset
online
the Web
computer program (but *programme* normally)

For more on spelling issues, see **Hyphenation** and **Capitalisation**.

Vocabulary issues

Master's thesis is preferred over *Pro Gradu*.

Orientation is preferred over *induction*.

Staff is treated as a plural noun.

When writing titles, use these forms: *Ronald Mann, PhD / Dr Ronald Mann*

The Finnish word *pääkaupunkiseutu* should be translated as the *Helsinki Metropolitan Area* or the *Helsinki Capital Region*. *Helsingin seutu* is *greater Helsinki*.

~ 2 ~

1. GENERAL INFORMATION AND TIPS

1.1. Introduction

In the latest edition of the Journal of European Science Editing (European Association of Science Editors (EASE)-Forum digest: July–September 2004, Vol. 30, No. 4 (November 2004): 121–23), the question came up whether or not a non-native speaker can edit as well as a native speaker, and furthermore, "Who is the best person to edit a [scientific] manuscript: a scientist or a linguist?" (121). It would seem fairly obvious that in answer to the first question: non-native English speakers may *not* have the fine-tuned command of the language and are "likely to miss nuances and might not be up-to-date with idioms" (ibid.). But, what about the difference between a scientist and a linguist, concerning the editing of a scientific text? Here one sees something of a paradox. Each of these professionals needs the expertise of the other to produce a "successful" text to be published in a high-profile journal of the field.

As English-language revisors for [redacted], we find ourselves on very similar ground to that of the copy-editors working for publishers. For the copy-editor, the idea is that, if an article has been peer reviewed and accepted, the content is not in question; whereas, it remains to the copy-editors to hammer out the written quality and readability of the very same document. As revisors, we have a slightly different burden of responsibility from that of the copy-editor. Of course, we are responsible for improving the English fluency of the academic text: our job is to control the quality of the English; however, as we are revising texts of authors who are not writing in their native language, creating and maintaining fluency is a more complex goal than that of a copy-editor.

In our roles as revisors, *we add fluency to the text in a way no other editor does*. Not only do we need to know the rules of writing, but we need to know how to write well ourselves. In this way, we not only exhibit a "reader" focus, but we must command both a "reader" and a "writer" focus; in other words, we not only revise concisely with a reader in mind, we must sometimes reformulate (i.e., rewrite) the ideas of the non-native English speaker demanded by a "writer" focus as well. This means that we "translate" flawed documents into fluent English. Thus, in dealing with the documents of non-native speakers of English, revisors frequently encounter lexical and structural problems that inevitably verge on content.

The subchapters which follow are important points which have been gleaned from a series of informative revisor's workshops on a variety of topics, sponsored by [redacted] throughout 2004. Though not exhaustive in scope, it is hoped that these preliminary guidelines will provide a helpful departure point for some of the gray areas of revising, as well as aid the inexperienced revisor in contextualizing and resolving many of the challenges with which our work confronts us on a daily basis.

1.2. Style vs. Content: striking a balance

A typical question that the new revisor might ask is: "Where and how do I draw clear lines between the following areas: 1) common grammar and syntax problems; 2) improving the style of a text; and 3) infringing on a text's content?" Obviously, after reading the introduction, above, it should be clear that nonspecialist revisors have no business revising the *content* of a scholar's

3

Figure 3 *First pages of the Style guide for translators and Revisor's guidelines*

As becomes apparent by glancing over the first pages alone, the *Style guide for translators* appears to consist of *lists* of short instructions and examples. *Revisor's guidelines*, on the other hand, contains numbered sections accompanied with body text, and its format resembles that of an expository text. The *Guidelines* begins with an introduction that is followed by sections divided into separate topics. The body text is composed of full sentences that form thematically into paragraphs. The distinctions, however, do not just lie in the formatting. The content and function of the two documents also differs. I will now analyze each of the documents in detail.

The *Style guide for translators* is an eight-page-long document. On its cover, one of the language revisors, Revisor 1, is credited for its compilation, but Revisor 1 repeatedly explained in interviews and during fieldwork that the document is collaboratively produced by both English translators and language revisors. Revisor 1 also told me that the *Style guide* is updated more or less annually. The copy I received is the fourth version which was updated

in 2015. At the time of my fieldwork, this was the latest version of the document. The *Style guide for translators* is a document that describes the "preferred" stylistic choices for the English translations produced in the Unit. The *Style guide* is divided into three sections which I describe below:

Extract 2.

I. Spelling and vocabulary
   a. **Preferred spellings (British English):** Unless otherwise specified, use the Oxford English Dictionary for spelling; The British ending -ise, not -ize, is preferred
   b. **Hyphenation:** Compound adjectives and adverb–adjective combinations are hyphenated to remove any ambiguity: intermediate-level studies
   c. **Capital letters:** For names of degrees: Bachelor's degree, Master's degree, Licentiate degree and Doctor's degree are capitalised, but not doctoral degree

II. Punctuation
   a. **Commas:** Use the serial comma or other commas only when necessary for clarity; After compound nouns, verbs, or adjectives, a comma can be used for clarity
   b. **Dashes:** The en dash should be used for dates and number ranges; When writing dates, do not use a dash after a preposition: The project ran from 2004 to 2006.
   c. **Quotation marks:** Double quotation marks are preferred; Use double quotation marks for news articles, with the punctuation inside of the closing quotation mark.

III. Grammar and style
   a. **Itemised lists:** Open punctuation is preferred in lists, unless the items are full sentences, then a full stop should be used. Use initial capitalisation.
   b. **Special grammatical rules:** No article comes before the [University], faculties or departments when the name stands alone; These prepositions are used with these common computer-related terms: on the Internet, on the intranet

As can be noted from the extract, the guidelines are explicit, and they impose instructions in minute detail. The *Style guide* contains, in written and distributable form, knowledge about the deployment of selected linguistic features so that the translators and language revisors are able to produce lexically and orthographically systematic and intertextually consistent translations. If we know the *Style guide*, or have it at hand for reference, we could look at a translation and try to determine whether or not it has been produced in the Unit by comparing the translation to the *Style guide*. The translators always give this document as reference material to new in-house and freelance translators who are expected to follow the instructions in their own translations. More than once I heard complaints from the in-house

translators when a freelance translator had either neglected to look up or follow the instructions in the *Style guide*.

The *Revisor's guidelines* have been compiled by one language revisor, Revisor 2. The document is dated 1 March 2005 and is the latest and only version of the *Guidelines*. Excluding the cover and contents pages and sections dedicated to external resources for further information, the body text of the document is c. five pages long. This part of the document contains one section labelled "General information and tips" that is further divided into seven subsections. In extract 3 I present some of the instructions the *Guidelines* provides. In the column "Description of content" I provide my own interpretation of what functions the subsections serve and how they regulate what authors' editing in the Unit is and what it does to texts.

Extract 3.

Heading	Example sentence(s)	Description of content
1.2. Style vs. Content: striking a balance	Obviously, after reading the introduction, above, it should be clear that nonspecialist revisors have no business revising the content of a scholar's text, unless they have extensive experience in that particular area.	Discussion on how to draw the limits to the service provided
1.5.3. Miscellaneous	Most revisors do 2 to 3 readings of a single text, with a minimum of 2 readings.	Introducing quality assurance mechanisms for authors' editing
1.6. Typical errors of Finnish scholars writing in English	Finnish authors writing in English often have (and should have) a competent grasp of the concepts and language of their subject areas. This does not necessarily mean, however, that they are able to translate their ideas into fluent and intelligible English; as for most writers in a foreign language, one's native language structures often interfere with fluent expression in a foreign language.	Defining areas in which language revisors can be of help to Finnish authors
1.7. Communicating with clients	So, whether one meets clients in person, contacts them by telephone, or writes them cover letters to introduce textual problems, is a matter of personal taste. But, one must be sensitive to the preferences of each client, while keeping in mind that there are some issues that must not remain questions in the revisor's mind very far into the text.	How, when and why language revisors should communicate with clients

When looking at the subheadings and the examples of the text that the sections contain, it becomes immediately obvious that the *Revisor's guidelines* is a very

different type of document compared to the *Style guide for translators*. Four out of the seven main headings in this section describe actions related to authors' editing: "striking a balance", "agreeing", "revising", "communicating". Three out of these four are verbs denoting *negotiation*, either in terms of finding solutions for conflicting responsibilities as a revisor (style vs. content) or in terms of discussions that should be had with the clients before, during and after the actual editing process. In other words, the headings depict authors' editing as an ongoing negotiation.

The text itself invites a similar interpretation; the language revisors need to determine what kind of help the author needs and how to deliver it in ways the author is willing to accept. The *Revisor's guidelines* instruct language revisors to be "sensitive", and to "negotiate over the suggested corrections" with the authors via email, phone or in face-to-face consultation. The *Guidelines* also advise language revisors to "ask for a sample of ten pages or so" before agreeing to authors' edit longer texts to "assess any issues that might become a problem later on down the line". This analysis of the *Revisor's guidelines* suggests that there is no default mode for authors' editing. Every text the revisors work with, as well as every client commissioning authors' editing, is different. What works with one author might not work with another. The issues have to be negotiated over and over again with every client and decided individually on a case-by-case basis and hence cannot be listed in the *Guidelines* as explicit and concrete instructions. Again, to give an idea of the contents of the *Guidelines*, here is an example from section 1.6. Common errors of Finnish scholars writing in English:

> In our present context, (mostly) Finnish authors writing academic texts in English generally tend to exhibit errors in the following areas: inappropriate sentence length and lack of "end focus"; lack of meta-text and transition words; mixing American- and British English spelling and punctuation in the same paper; degrees of formality and levels of meaning; passive structures and dangling modifiers; and general punctuation (influenced by Finnish punctuation rules).
>
> (*Revisor's guidelines*, 2005)

This passage highlights the aspects of writing that are construed as typically challenging for Finnish authors who write in English, e.g. transitions or orthographic conventions. The passage includes the most concrete description of what authors' editing should target in order to make the manuscripts produced by Finnish authors adhere to Anglocentric writing conventions. It also gives an idea on the level of detail the language revisor should focus on during authors' editing: sentence length and focus, passive structures, metatext, consistency and correctness of spelling/punctuation conventions and ambiguity of constructions.

What the passage does not provide are the concrete instructions on how to tackle the situations, but the solutions are often inferable. The passage could be read as suggestions on how to improve the quality of a manuscript. For

example, if the manuscript lacks meta-text, add it to the text; if sentences are too long, shorten them. But again, where exactly to add meta-text or how to split a long sentence cannot be predetermined but has to be decided case by case, and at times these aspects might be difficult to tackle by the language revisor alone. The *Revisor's guidelines* is not actually a document instructing on how to regulate language, and because of this, essentially differs from the *Style guide for translators*. Instead, the *Revisor's guidelines* contains metadiscourse about the practice of authors' editing. As a result, it focuses less on instructing the readers about what a good language revisor needs to do to texts but rather what a good language revisor is like. The *Revisor's guidelines* portrays authors' editing as a negotiation and the actual actions the language revisors introduce as part of their work as situated and dependent on external factors, such as the clients' level of proficiency in English and their experience as authors of academic texts. With no concrete illustrations on what authors' edited language looks like, we could not use this document to try to determine whether or not a text was edited by one of the Unit's revisors.

When I learned about the existence of these two documents, I was interested in what the language professionals use these documents for. As already noted, the translators told me that the *Style guide for translators* is given to every new translator be they in-house or freelancer employees. They are expected to read it through and follow the instructions in their translations. Language revision coordinator also told me that they make sure all new (mostly freelance) language revisors get a copy of the *Revisor's guidelines* when they first start working for the Unit. However, no one keeps track whether new revisors actually ever read the document or follow its instructions. Some of the language revisors were in fact a bit surprised when I told them that the coordinator gives the document to new revisors.

When conducting the first interviews with the translators, language revisors and Language revision coordinator, all the translators kept bringing up the *Style guide*. However, I discussed the *Revisor's guidelines* only with Language revision coordinator and Revisor 2 (the compilator). I originally gathered, based on the insights from the first interviews, that the translators would make regular use of the *Style guide*, but the language revisors would probably not consult the *Guidelines* to the same degree in their day-to-day work. What struck me as odd was that, once in the field, I saw *no one* using either document, I did not see a single copy of the documents lying around on someone's desk or shelf. After a couple of weeks, I brought this up with Senior translator, who told me that they rarely have to consult the *Style guide*, because they remember most of the things it contains by heart having put the instructions to use every day. In a sense, neither of the documents is in day-to-day use in the Unit, but for very different reasons which will be discussed below.

The issues depicted in the *Revisor's guidelines* are complex and multifaceted, things everyone has to decide on their own, case by case. The *Style guide for translators*, on the other hand, addresses a limited scope of

linguistic features, and instructs explicitly on the usage of preferred choices for relatively straightforward issues such as spelling and orthographic conventions. The *Style guide* contains a collection of rules, which might seem arbitrary to outsiders. Trying to remember the rules just by reading through the document might be difficult, but for the Unit's translators the sheer number of repetitions in the application of these rules on a daily basis has created a routine for producing certain linguistic forms. These forms – the signature features of the Unit's translations – manifest the internalized knowledge that has been created through repeated activity (Wolf and Fukari, 2007; Toury, 2012). Cameron (1995, p. 14) argues that typically, during apprenticeship, we are socialized into a community's linguistic rules, and after enough exposure we internalize the norms to such an extent that those norms are no longer experienced as arbitrary. The perceived arbitrariness of the norms is eventually replaced by the logic of automated action, i.e. routines.

Both documents introduce and encourage systematicity but on different levels. In the *Style guide for translators*, systematicity is introduced by the community, and can only be maintained if everyone adheres to the same rules. The systematicity the *Revisor's guidelines* encourages revisors to integrate into their work can only be developed and maintained by each individual on their own and in the scope of the texts they authors' edit alone. In a sense, both the *Style guide for translators* and *Revisor's guidelines* encode tacit knowledge as agreements. The *Style guide for translators* is a collection of norms that regulates aspects of the translated language, i.e. the document standardizes what the translated text should look like. In other words, the *Style guide for translators* determines how "graphic resources" (Blommaert, 2013a, p. 446) should be used in the Unit's translations. These graphic resources and the way their use is instructed in the *Style guide* creates "compellingly normative connections between ordered graphic symbols and institutional criteria of 'correctness'" (Blommaert, 2013a, p. 446).

The "rules" compiled into the *Style guide for translators* define the local criteria for "correctness" that the Unit's language professionals need to agree to adhere to. As such, the *Style guide* is a type of contract, which not only stores the "decisions" but also settles the topics of earlier disagreements so that similar differences in opinion causing potential conflict need not be repeatedly resolved in the community.

As a contract, the *Style guide for translators* ensures higher degrees of uniformity across the translated texts produced in the Unit. With the contractual function, the artefact in fact has authority of its own. It is important to note, however, that even when the document has authority, it is not an intentional actor, i.e. it does not have cognitive capacities, but rather all decisions that have ended up in the artefact have been made by the members in the community. But once in the *Style guide*, the decisions have legitimacy because the encoded norms have become part of the language professionals' "cognitive routine" (Pennycook, 2018, p. 45). In the practice of translation, as it configures in the Unit, the *Style guide* inscribes a tradition, a way of doing

things that is passed on to new members of the community who are expected to reproduce and conform to the community norms.

Similarly, the *Revisor's guidelines* functions as an agreement. However, instead of regulating the product, i.e. language or specific aspects of language, the *Revisor's guidelines* regulates the process of authors' editing, i.e. it aims to standardize revisors' behavior during the process. Rather than a contract, the *Guidelines* could be described as a code of conduct. The *Revisor's guidelines* contains tacit knowledge about what language revisors need to be aware of when authors' editing, as well as what are the things revisors need to decide by themselves or together with their clients. To sum up, the *Style guide for translators* encodes the Unit's linguistic norms governing certain linguistic elements of translations; and the *Revisor's guidelines* encodes the social norms that spell out how responsibilities are distributed across actors (the revisor and the clients) in the authors' editing process.

Besides physical manuals and guidelines, the practices of translation and authors' editing also habitually make use of other materials in daily work. Most materials the language professionals use daily are digital, and whenever the need arises, even the *Revisor's guidelines* and the *Style guide for translators* are typically consulted and distributed in their electronic format. In the next section I discuss the affordances technology creates for translation and authors' editing in the Unit.

4.2.2 DIGITAL TOOLS

In this section I discuss how technology makes it possible for the translators and language revisors to overcome the limitations of cognition, store and mediate knowledge and extend the community's physical boundaries. Currently, both translation and authors' editing are predominantly technologically mediated practices in the Unit. Most of the work is carried out with digital tools – only once did I witness a manual revision of an article during the entire fieldwork period. Carrying out translation manually was even more rare. The only instance the translators worked with printouts was when they were evaluating freelancer candidates' test translations. The fact that both practices are highly technologically mediated is a crucial element in the way translation and authors' editing are carried out in the Unit.

The affordances of email

When the Unit began to offer authors' editing services in the 1990s, it was typical of the language revisors to either meet with their clients or, if they were in a hurry, consult them over the phone to discuss issues that had arisen during the editing process. At the time of my fieldwork, and for a couple of years before that, virtually all the communication with clients was carried out via email because of increasing time pressures caused by the growing demand for authors' editing services. Below is an extract of the notes I made from the interview conducted with Revisor 3.

Extract 4.

> The discussion moved to collaboration with authors and I asked if Revisor 3 ever met their clients. Revisor 3 said that they used to do more consultation face-to-face. There was "recently less need to consult", but the way the industry was evolving and the organizational changes that took place in the University had also resulted in being able to spend less and less time with a single text.

The growing pressures to manage the increasing workload had constrained earlier ways of working, and face-to-face consultation was becoming increasingly rare. Instead, the communication with clients nowadays had taken more technologically mediated forms and the language revisors habitually negotiated and consulted their clients via email.

Email is the predominant means of commissioning and delivering translations. Before that the Unit's translators received and submitted translations via internal mail. At the time of the fieldwork, the translators carry out virtually all communication with their clients via email. In an interview, Senior translator told me that email is used to consult the client when "questions arise about the texts", but during fieldwork I most often observed the translators emailing with the clients to negotiate the organization of work, e.g. extend deadlines if needed. For translators who work as a team, email has yet another function; it is used both to organize who does what, to distribute the text to a second translator for bilingual revision and when sending the translation for monolingual revision carried out by one of the in-house language revisors (see chapter 6).

Being able to communicate and distribute material over email creates two affordances that are crucial especially for translation. One of the main benefits is that email creates an affordance for telecommuting. All four translators have two teleworking days per week each. The days spent working from home are disseminated across the week, so that there is always at least one translator at the office during office hours, and all translators are present on Mondays so they can catch up with what everyone is working on at that moment. In comparison, only one of the language revisors regularly telecommutes, the other two do not, although one revisor, Revisor 2, only works half-time. The translators told me that being able to telework is not only a nice bonus, it is almost a prerequisite for translation. As noted earlier, the four translators share a room, c. 20 m² in size. During fieldwork, I observed that translation often seemed to require a lot of intensive concentration, especially when translating certain genres that contain difficult terminology or are otherwise difficult to translate, and during specific phases of the translation process, e.g. during the bilingual revision phase. I observed the translators, whenever they needed to consult a colleague, wait to find a moment when the colleague did not appear to be absorbed in the work before approaching them. I also noted that, after a while, I too began to model this behavior. I wrote down the questions I had in mind and waited until the translator reached the end of the document or took a break before asking questions. The affordance of

telecommuting is that it allows the translators more tranquility. The translators reserve one weekday (Monday) for socializing and discussing issues among the whole English translator team, while the other weekdays can be spent either working from home or in a quieter environment with fewer colleagues at the office.

What about the language revisors, why are they working at the office more frequently? At first sight it might seem a bit perplexing – why are the revisors not making use of the telecommuting opportunity to the same degree as the translators? The nature of the work can hardly be the reason, since the entire practice consists of revision that requires a lot of concentration. As noted earlier, authors' editing is a solitary endeavor, each revisor works with their own text alone from the beginning to the very end. When there is no collaboration, there is less communication among colleagues, thus making it less of a prerequisite to find ways to make it easier to concentrate.

The other affordance of email is the possibility to blur the boundaries of the community to include people who are almost *never* physically present. Like noted earlier, language revisors do not really collaborate with other Unit members in the scope of the authors' editing process. They do, however, have colleagues working as freelancers. The freelancers are not physically present at the Unit. They get the authors' editing commissions from Language revision coordinator and send the edited texts to the clients via email. The sheer number of the actively working freelance language revisors would make it impossible to recruit them as in-house staff – there are twice as many freelance translators as there are employees in the whole Unit. However, the freelance language revisors' services can be employed via email without having to physically locate them within the Unit's spaces.

I was told by the language revisors that the Unit's freelancers were free to drop by at the office and make use of any reference material located physically at the office premises. In practice, they almost never did this during my over three-month-long fieldwork period. Once I saw a freelance revisor come in and greet the in-house employees, and another one came knocking on Language revision coordinator's door in the middle of our interview more than six months earlier in Spring 2017. So, although visits are not unheard of, they are not common either. If the freelance language revisors' visits were rare, the freelance translators' physical presence was virtually nonexistent, with two exceptions: the (very rarely occurring) job interviews and the (annual) pre-Christmas celebration that, however, does not take place at the office premises. What is significant is the fact that five freelance translators' services are commissioned continuously. They regularly do translations for the Unit, which means not only that email is used to schedule and send out the translation orders (in the same way as the coordinator does with the freelance revisors) but also to distribute the translation process of a single text into phases that can be carried out by both in-house and freelance translators in collaboration.

Shove et al. (2012, p. 131) argue that "certain practitioners have resources that allow them to escape the limitations of space that afflict others". For

translation, email operates as such a resource. Digitalization has afforded the translation process to become a communal effort, and the physical borders of the community can be extended to include, when necessary, even remote and peripheral members. However, as I will argue below (section 4.3), it is not email as such that affords the extensive collaboration. It is the way translation is organized and integrates the elements it comprises of that allows the practitioners to act as co-carriers of the practice and share the same technologically mediated "practice-space", that is "the space in which practitioners could potentially enact practices" (Shove et al., 2012, p. 131).

Both physical and digital materials, like office spaces and technology, create certain affordances for collaboration and community building, but the digital tools also play a role in the way translation and authors' editing are carried out at the Unit. In the following sections, I present the most commonly used digital resources in the Unit, Microsoft Word and Wordfast, and identify and discuss the language regulatory functions of the software.

The language regulatory functions of software: Microsoft Word

All the Unit's translators and language revisors use word processing programs, such as Microsoft Word. Word is the main tool language revisors use in their work. Word is available on all Unit's language professionals' work computers, and its use in work tasks is the norm, particularly for the language revisors (more on the programs the translators use below). The most crucial functions of Word for the language revisors are the review-pane functions, such as track changes, as well as the comment and spell check functions. The functions are used in varying degrees at different stages of the two kinds of revision processes: authors' editing and monolingual revision. Both revision processes are distributed into distinct phases that typically include, depending on the revisor, two to three "reads", i.e. rounds of revision for a single piece of text (see Figure 4 below). Often the revision proceeds from more substantial revision work, or "heavy lifting" as Revisor 3 calls the phase, into phases where the changes made to the text typically become much lighter and nuanced, but during which the language revisor might also notice potentially problematic elements that they were not able to identify during the first read. The types of changes made to the text in the different phases is a topic I will discuss in detail in chapter 7, but here I would like to draw attention to the way the central tool, Microsoft Word, gets used during the revision processes.

During the first phase, where all the "heavy lifting" is done, the language revisors typically click on the *track changes* function and select *all markup* that allows them to keep track of all the deletions, insertions and formatting they do on the document. During this phase, some issues often arise that cannot be solved on the spot. In these cases, the language revisors often add a comment that is, if they are doing authors' editing, directed to the client, and if they are doing a monolingual revision for the translators, to the first translator primarily responsible for the outcome. The comments often elaborate the changes made directly in the text or inform the recipient of

potentially problematic elements in the text. The interactive function of the comment function was also noted by Olohan (2018) and commenting in authors' editing in general by Burrough-Boenisch and Matarese (2013), as well as Shaw and Voss (2017).

The revisors also use the comment function to make a mental note for themselves to get back to the section in the text and find a way to resolve it later. In this first read, the functions Word offers allow revisors to keep track of the changes they have already made while at the same time also displaying the original wording and formatting. This has certain advantages as sometimes changes have to be revisited after reading the text further. I often witnessed instances where the revisor, after reading for example until the end of the paragraph, decided to re-revise their own changes because they realized their initial interpretation of the meaning the author was trying to convey had been inaccurate. Often these situations emerged due to semantic or syntactic ambiguity in the original and could be resolved once the text had provided additional information as examples or illustrations, or purely by developing the argument further. The affordance of the *all markup* function in these situations is that the original wording is not deleted but displayed beside the revised section making it faster to opt for the original wording than it would without the function.

There was a degree of variation in the way the later phase(s), i.e. second (and possibly third) reads were carried out by the three revisors. Regardless of this, I did identify some systematicity, especially in terms of the tools Word offers for revision. At the beginning of the second read, the revisors switched to *simple markup*. With this function, Word displays only the revised version of the text, but indicates with a vertical red line those sections in the text where changes have been made and the comments that have been added to the margin. This makes it possible to review the text as a new "cleaned-up" version. The affordances of Word was a topic I discussed with the language revisors in the first interviews. The following extract is from an interview with Revisor 2 who describes the role the software plays in the work.

Extract 5.

Rev2 when I would do really long texts I would have to keep track of the recommendations that I would give from the very beginning so I would write okay I'm , on page so-and-so , I'm you know , we're doing this spelling , or we're gonna do this type of thing and I would just , try to keep track of it so that, when I would come to page 500 you know I'm still giving the same advice @@ . and not giving, different advice . because now with track changes in word I just find what I'm looking for , I get all of them , I change all of them you know , it's so , you save so much time with doing it electronically it's , so, I have come to hate these manual revisions because they , you have to remember everything you do from the beginning to the end , and then hope you don't miss anything . and then you can't take those marks away when you read it again

> , they can clutter the page so that you don't see the other things that are wrong . whereas in track changes you just , remove all the track changes and you read it in a final copy and then you catch more stuff . because finally you have the , like the eyes , resting on what is there , not on all these corrections that are there

The data suggests that the functions of Word play a part in how the work is distributed into phases. The functions allow the language revisors to distribute the revision processes in a way that is cognitively less demanding. With most interventions already introduced into the text, the revisors could more easily identify sections that they missed or were not able to resolve during the first read. The two functions Word Track changes offers allow the revisors to see the text as if it was a new, "easier" text to revise. These functions create affordances for them to concentrate on more nuanced features, such as forms of cohesion, and detect and resolve unnecessary repetition and tense changes within the already once-revised text. They also used the automatic spellchecker to identify wordings or sections that they might have overlooked before. Typically, there were rarely typos in the text at this point, but Word spellchecker often does not recognize all the latest terminology or concepts used in scientific articles and underlines them in red. This sometimes encourages the language revisors to consult other resources, such as other articles on the same topic, to verify the conventionality of spelling. The language revisors also paid close attention to sections or words with blue underlining. Revisor 3 explained to me that the blue underlining, by which Word indicates the section could be improved and offers a suggestion, often was an indicator that there could still be "something funny" in the text. For this revisor, one of the very last things they did was to skim through these blue-underlined bits in the text and decide whether they still contained issues that were their responsibility to resolve.

In Figure 4 I depict how usage of the Word functions is distributed across the phases of the revision processes. As can be noted in Figure 4, in the Unit, the authors' editing process is divided into distinct phases by taking breaks between them. The function of breaks is further elaborated in 4.3 where I depict the organization of work in both practices.

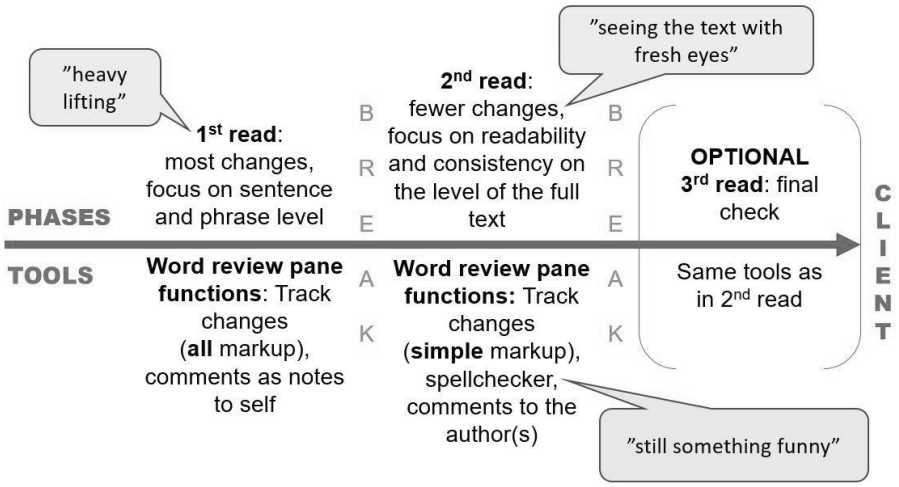


Figure 4 *The phases of the authors' editing process at the Unit*

Similarly to the language revisors, the translators also employ all the Word functions mentioned above; track changes, comments and spellchecker, but to a much lesser degree, and their usage is particularly, and almost exclusively, restricted to bilingual revision and monolingual revision (the two revision phases of the translation process, see chapter 6). But there is also a detail worth spelling out that is relevant to the ways in which the software creates affordances for the distribution of responsibilities. It is not only useful to look at how the different Word functions are used to regulate the language of translations and authors' edited texts, but particular attention should also be paid to the *addressee* of the regulation. The language revisors use the different functions Word offers to regulate the language of their client, the author of the original text, but also their *future self*, who needs to identify the parts of the text that still need to be addressed. The translators, on the other hand, very rarely make these types of "work in progress" notes for themselves. Instead, they use these functions as means to communicate, not primarily with the client, but more importantly, with the other people involved in the translation process, i.e. the other translator doing the bilingual revision and the revisor who does the monolingual revision.

The main "medium" of communication in translation in this respect is the comment bubble. It is used to ask questions or solicit advice or to notify the other people involved of a particularly problematic segment, or to inform the two revisors if there is a problem in the source text which affects the translation. In case the translators identify problems with the source text, such as errors or ambiguities, they either use the comment function or email to notify the client. The second translator doing bilingual revision and the language revisor monolingually revising the text, on the other hand, make use

of the comment and the track changes functions when intervening in the language of the translation. The assertiveness of the intervention is indicated by the function chosen to inform the first translator of the potential problem. Choosing track changes indicated that there was something the revisor thinks is wrong with the translation; there might be typos, unidiomatic language, misused prepositions or articles, or misinterpretations of meaning. Adding a comment, in contrast, is used to suggest changes, for example to offer a wording that could be more easily understandable to the target audience or that would reduce ambiguity. But, regardless of the medium in which interventions are brought to the first translator's attention, the translator responsible for the translation and has the right and obligation to look them through and either accept or reject each change and suggestion according to their best judgement. To sum up, the functions Word offers afford the authors' editing and translation processes to be distributed temporally into phases, into distinct modes of working and socially across individuals taking part in the production of English-medium texts.

This section has mostly focused on how the language revisors use Word functions as the word processing software is the main tool used in authors' editing and typically in use during the bilingual and monolingual revision processes carried out as part of translation. The following section, in turn, will focus on the digital tool the translators most frequently use in their work while producing the target text.

Language regulatory functions of software: CAT

The most striking difference in the digital tools used by the Unit's translators and language revisors is the computer assisted translation (CAT) software available for translation. In addition to Microsoft Word, the translators also use two versions of the same CAT software; either an add-on version installed into Word or a software of its own that is specifically designed for translation. In the Unit, the translators use either Wordfast classic (an add-on) or a completely separate CAT software, Wordfast Pro, in which the translations are processed. From here on, I will refer to both the add-on and the full-blown Wordfast Pro versions of the software as CAT.

The importance of the CAT software for translation was brought up repeatedly in the interviews with the translators, and somewhat surprisingly, also in interviews with the language revisors and the Unit director. I also observed the translators routinely using it during fieldwork. A telling example of the significance of the software is how Revisor 2 talks about CAT in our first interview (extract 6).

Extract 6.

Rev2	there aren't any programs for revisers
HMP	yeah
Rev2	I mean they've got , they've got amazing tools for translators . and also the thing is that the translator tools that they use , you get them and you build them . based on you know the work that you

	get and then [...] feedback from us you know , so they build then these things and then they can translate a page in it like , lightning speed in my opinion . you know . so that's a kind of a level of professional work , with tools..
HMP	yeah.
Rev2	that I think , you know , we're left with our intuition , and the ear you know

The extract above highlights how CAT software affords ways of working that are not available for the language revisors. With the CAT tools, the translators are able to "build" a language for translation and deploy it systematically in every new re-enactment of translation, which is not possible for the language revisors as they do not have the means to develop a shared language for authors' editing. Even though, Revisor 2 depicts using the CAT software as a rather mechanistic act, translation with the help of software is not the same across contexts, but the translators need to know when, where and how to use the CAT tool. Below I discuss how the CAT software is used in the Unit to regulate the language of translations.

The CAT tools used in the Unit operate by statistically comparing the similarity of a source text segment to other source text segments (by calculating a percentual match) that have been translated in the Unit before and fed into the software's translation memory. If the segment resembles another, previous text segment to a certain degree, the software offers the previously translated segment as a suggestion. At the Unit, the translators mostly use what they call the "fuzzy" 60–70% match as a threshold. By lowering the match threshold to 60–70%, the CAT software compares more fine-grained similarities between the segment under translation and previously translated segments in texts that have been fed to the memory. By lowering the threshold, the software is able to produce matches that share similarities but are not identical, thus increasing chances of a match and making the tool more useful for translation in the Unit. In the Unit, the translators considered the CAT software as useful especially with genres containing legalese, "a lot of repetition" and when translating particularly formulaic texts, such as the regulations of the University (interview with Senior translator), which was the only genre I observed to which the CAT software suggested 100% matches. The translators characterized the software as convenient, but not bulletproof, and the Unit's translators brought up things that need to be taken into account when using CAT software.

First, the software operates on the level of a single translation segment, which most often is a string of text that starts with a capital letter and ends in a punctuation mark indicating a sentence or clause boundary. In other than the extremely formulaic texts, precentral similarity even in one single translation segment rarely reaches the threshold 60–70% of "a fuzzy match". Translator 2, who mostly translates press releases, told me that they prefer to use the lower 60% level because the correspondence rate can drop to 90% just

because of punctuation, if for example, the earlier version included a full stop but in the current version there is a comma. According to the Unit's translators, the software's automated capability to identify similarity does not produce matches that often, but that does not mean that the software is useless. The administrative texts that are translated in the Unit typically contain a lot of linguistic similarity on the level of certain linguistic elements and less so on other levels. For example, much of the terminology and certain phrases circulate in many administrative texts, but the portion of these, often individual words or small word clusters, is not enough for the CAT software to recognize. The translators have developed a way to go round the constraints by using the concordance search functions (also noted by Bundgaard and Christensen, 2019). If the translator knows that a term or phrase is or probably has been translated before, they can paint the words in question within the segment and do a concordance search for this part of a segment and try to find matches for it from the translation memory. During my fieldwork, this was the most frequent way I observed the Unit's translators using the CAT software.

A second important aspect to note is the fact that the usefulness of the CAT software is to a large degree, but not entirely, dependent on the genre of the text under translation. Some genres, such as administrative guidelines, regulations and reports, typically contain expressions that have been translated before and will be translated many times in the future. The degree program curricula and course descriptions are, in terms of the CAT software, a half-way genre, comprised of features that are easily stored in and exported from the translation memory, e.g. recurring phrases in the way courses are described ("grading: general scale"; "timing: recommended during the nth year"). Then again, the course descriptions also contain material that can be anything from the latest research on nanotechnology to classics of Western philosophy, i.e. material that might or might not have been translated before and stored in the memory. In this regard, the usefulness of CAT depends on how much the contents of the courses change annually.

Another typical translation genre in the Unit is the press release. Press releases translated in the Unit often familiarize the general public with scientific discoveries, which very typically contain very few of the expressions that are translated in the administrative genres. The latest research might also employ novel concepts that have not yet found their way into course catalogues and thus have not been translated before in the Unit. Nonetheless, the translators use CAT with this genre too, but its usage bears less significance and requires some maneuvers. For the translation of press releases, the translators have created another translation memory, which Translator 2 calls the "sandbox memory". According to Translator 2, the sandbox memory is kept separate from the bulk of the administrative texts, and only contains earlier translations of press releases. This memory is significantly smaller, but like the administrative memory, it has been compiled for years. With this memory, CAT practically never offers hits on the level of entire segments, but the concordance search can often prove useful. In this genre, similarly to the

other genres, the translators need to know what type of expressions are worth searching for. In press releases, CAT is less useful for the translation of terminology but very useful for e.g. academic titles. The CAT software used in the Unit allows the translator to make concordance searches also from the administrative memory if the translator so wishes. Sometimes similar topics circulate in many different translated genres, and if the translator is aware of such intertextual links, they can exploit the administrative memory in the translation of press releases as well.

To sum up, in some of the genres, such as guidelines, regulations and reports, it is more useful to employ a tool that allows translators to review and reuse expressions that have already been entextualized into other texts circulating in the University. In official guidelines and regulations, the audience needs to be able to determine whether the new text addresses topics already familiar to them or a topic that makes reference to a completely new phenomenon. The translators (and the people producing the originals) can help the audience to make these interpretations by circulating the same linguistic expressions in all the texts addressing the topic regardless of their genre; this is done to create intertextuality, textual references to other texts already circulating in the institution. This also implies that the agency awarded to the CAT software is more pronounced in the production of the more formulaic genres while the human agents a more firmly in control of the linguistic form in the outreach genres, e.g. press releases (I will take up this topic in chapter 5). The translators also entextualize intertextual links into press releases, but the important thing to note is that, in this genre, most of the intertextual references are made to texts that are not produced by the University administration or press officers, but for example to the scientific publication the press release presents. The CAT software's affordance lies in helping the translators to develop and maintain internally consistent intertextual links through the texts they translate from Finnish into English.

The CAT software has yet another function for the translators which is very closely related to the other digital tools and the way they are used in the English translator community. Earlier, I discussed the affordances of using digital tools, especially email, and the way these create opportunities for extending community boundaries and increased collaboration by creating "practice-spaces" (Shove et al., 2012). The CAT software complements the affordances by providing all of the members of the translator community a common framework of reference that is encoded into the translation memory. The memory can be disseminated via email to the peripheral members of the community, i.e. the freelance translators. These digital tools make it possible to remotely socialize the freelance translators to the norms of the core community. Svoboda (2017, p. 105) has argued that a translation memory, along with style guides, forms a "shared institutional memory" for translators operating in highly institutionalized contexts.

When we look at the digital tools i.e. the resources the language professionals have at their disposal, we begin to see that translation and

authors' editing are in certain respects very similar to each other in the way language is regulated in the process. For example, the same tools (the Word functions) are used in a more or less similar manner during the phases that require monitoring and interventions, i.e. in authors' editing and in the bilingual and monolingual revision phases. We can also see that there are other language regulatory acts carried out in translation, most significantly the development and maintenance of "the shared institutional memory", for which the translators need other tools and resources. The discussion presented in this section highlights how the focus on translation and authors' editing as social practices underlines the need to redefine the relationship between things and humans both in terms of how each of the elements configuring these practices might constrain or enable the ways in which work is carried out.

4.3 TIME AND SPACE: THE ORGANIZATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WORK

In addition to competence and materials, the practices of translation and authors' editing are also built upon the organization and sequencing of work, i.e. routines. Routines and habits are not elements as such, but the ways in which work is organized and carried out are intertwined with the elements discussed in the previous sections. In other words, the practices of translation and authors' editing are the result of stable, recurring re-enactments and deployments of certain people and physical and digital spaces, specific technology and other materials.

4.3.1 ROUTINIZATION

Both in translation and authors' editing the work phases are distributed in specific ways. The language revisors do the "heavy lifting" first, then revise the "cleaned-up" text; the translators produce a draft that is first revised by their translator colleague, and then by the language revisor on-call that day. In other words, the language regulatory practices of translation and authors' editing are co-dependent and they are sequenced – or distributed across time – in a specific order. This of course is logical. There would be no point in starting to revise a text that has not been translated yet, or revisit problematic sections in the text with fresh eyes before identifying them as problematic in the first place (also noted by Olohan, 2021). But importantly, the temporal distribution of the language regulatory practices also creates affordances. When authors' editing and translation is organized into different phases carried out in a predetermined sequential order, the professionals are able to limit the scope of the "things-to-do" in a given work phase. This allows them to focus their attention, to concentrate on only a couple of things at a time. In the next

phase(s), they can dedicate their attention to other things. Shove et al. (2012) note how time is essential for practices:

> Rather than competing for time, time is something that practices 'make'. Some practices (…) have temporal qualities that are hard to avoid. (…) This temporal sequence is born of the practice itself. The same applies to complex patterns of synchronization like those generated by practices the effective accomplishment of which demands the co-presence of many people.
>
> (Shove et al., 2012, p. 129)

In the extract above, Shove et al. introduce a point about the involvement of other people in practices. In translation, the fact that there are many people involved in the practice "'makes' time". In translation, the temporal distribution of the work phases makes time because it allows some of the different phases to be carried out *synchronically*. In Figure 5 I depict how the translation process proceeds in the Unit.

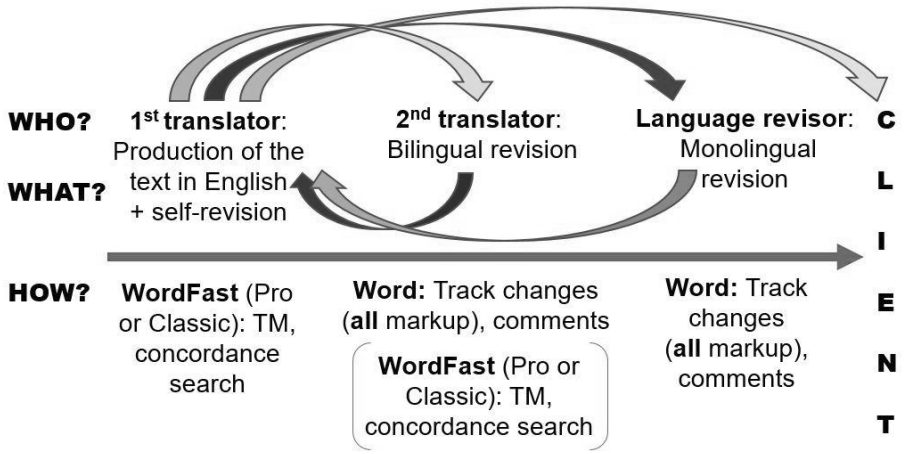


Figure 5 *Phases and participants in the practice of translation*

After sending a first draft of a translation into revision, the translator can start translating another text at the same time as the first text is being revised. There are certain advantages that this type of distribution of work creates. As noted earlier, both authors' editing and translation, especially in the revision phases, require a lot of concentration. Both language revisors and translators talk about "getting lost" in the text, and the need to "distance themselves" from it after finishing one work phase. This distancing often requires taking a break to have a cup of coffee or tea, working with a completely different text or even "sleeping on it" before the next phase can begin. Distancing themselves from the text allows the language professionals to look at the text almost as if seeing

it for the first time. In translation, because the different phases are actually also distributed socially *across different individuals*, the person doing the revision *is seeing* the text for the first time, which makes the distancing a built-in component in the way translations are produced in the Unit (also noted by Scocchera, 2017). In extract 7 below, Revisor 1 talks about how the ways in which the work is distributed in the two practices affects how and by whom these practices are evaluated.

Extract 7.

HMP	uh so, with these kind of authors' editor works , there isn't actually anyone else involved in the process? It's just you , like when comparing to the translators..
Rev1	yeah
HMP	that there's different people looking at that , same text
Rev1	yeah honestly I think this is a weakness
HMP	ok
Rev1	but I mean , we've talked about , I don't see any way to , yeah . I think someday they should probably look at a quality system and do, checks but right now the quality system is , feedback . you know . and if you get , and that has caught a couple of bad revisors
HMP	yeah
Rev1	sometimes there's been complaints and then , you can kinda look at the finished thing . if people get good feedback they're generally considered good

The language revisors seem to be keenly aware that the way translation is organized in the Unit creates affordances for quality assurance. It seems that distancing is an important quality assurance mechanism for both translation and authors' editing, but the way translation is distributed across different individuals seems to boost the affordances of distancing as a way to ensure the quality of text production.

Shove et al. (2012, p. 133) talk about the co-constitution of space and practice. In addition to physical spaces inhabited by physical beings, digital software create virtual places. The digital tools in use in translation create a virtual place for the enactment of the practice. The digital space forms, according to Shove et al. (2012, p. 133), virtual forms of "co-location" that produces "a distinctive but distributed 'place'". The organization of the work, together with the digital tools, creates a shared practice-space for translation. Because of these affordances, all the translators, be they in-house employees or freelancers working for the Unit, have access to the same accumulated "institutional memory".

4.3.2 THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF ELEMENTS

I have already discussed how certain digital tools, such as email and the CAT software can be used to blur the physical boundaries of communities and

include peripheral members in the community remotely. There is, however, more to the re-enactment of a practice than just the deployment of the necessary technology. Shove et al. (2012, p. 24) argue that practices are "defined by interdependent relations between materials, competences and meaning", and that practices come into being and are re-enacted when these elements are integrated. This means that for any successful enactment of a practice, all three elements need to be present. As an example, it would not be enough to email the translation memory and the accompanying CAT software to just anyone. In order for the translations to be considered as a successful enactment of the practice of translation in the Unit, the person to whom these digital tools are distributed needs to have acquired the necessary professional competence both in translation in a university setting and in the usage of similar technology. They also need to understand what kind of meanings both the practice of translation and the tools used to carry it out have been assigned in the Unit.

During my fieldwork, I witnessed a case where one freelance translator, who had been given a copy of the administrative translation memory and the add-on for WordFast Pro, failed to produce a translation that was able to pass the bilingual revision carried out by Senior translator. While going through the text, Senior translator voiced concerns over the quality of the translation and began to question the freelancer's expertise as a translator. Even though it was the end result, the freelancer's translation, which was under evaluation, the critique was more geared towards the way the freelancer worked, e.g. not checking terminology from reference material and not making use of the translation memory, than to the fact that there were clearly identifiable translation mistakes in the text. The senior in-house translator was not annoyed about the translation mistakes as they argued that all translations contain mistakes. What was upsetting to them was that these were the types of mistakes that could be avoided if the freelancer had used the digital tools provided for them. I will describe this incident in more detail in chapter 5.

According to Shove et al. (2012, p. 132) practices cannot "travel" if "complex and demanding forms of expertise cannot be grafted on the absence of appropriate background knowledge". In order to be able to produce translations that pass the standards developed and maintained by the in-house translators, the freelancers need to adopt the same ways of working as the established members of the community. In other words, they need to work in ways that can be considered as a re-enactment of the practice of translation as it is carried out in the Unit. Shove et al. (2012, p. 132) note that "practices do not literally travel, but elements certainly do". For the ways of doing translation to "travel", all the elements that appear in the practice of translation as carried out by the in-house translators need to be present in the ways in which the freelancers translate. This means that the peripheral members need to know, not only how to translate given topics and genres, but also how, when and why to use the digital tools. And because in a practice all the three elements – competence, materials and meanings – are

interdependent, the freelancers need to also understand the meanings assigned to the practice of translation in the Unit. In the Unit, as opposed to one-off translations that the freelancers might be commissioned to produce for other clients, translations are not independent texts but are intertextually linked to other texts on similar topics. One essential aspect of the meanings assigned to translation in the Unit includes a shared "practical understanding" of the importance of cultivating these links through translation. It is this meaning assigned to translation that conditions the need to use the digital resources.

In this chapter I have identified what the elements of competence and materials comprise of in the practices of translation and authors' editing in the Unit. I have also shown how the elements become integrated as well as how they create affordances and constrain ways of working. The chapter has deliberately avoided an exhaustive discussion on the third element – meaning. This is because the meanings assigned to these practices are entangled with the roles that the language professionals construe for themselves and the ways in which they perform language regulation on the English-medium texts produced in the Unit. In the following four analysis chapters I will devote my attention to exploring both the discursively construed roles and their textual manifestations, as well as meanings assigned for the practices in more detail.

5 TRANSLATION – THE LOCAL STANDARD

This chapter focuses on translation and investigates how the Unit's translators understand their role in the production of English-medium texts in academia. In addition, I analyze how the affordances of materials and the way work is organized are emblematic to the meanings assigned to translation in the Unit. In this chapter I investigate the following research questions:

> 1b. What kind of affordances or constraints do the ways of working create?
> 2a. What roles and responsibilities do the translators construe for themselves as part of academia?
> 2d. How are these roles and responsibilities socially distributed across actors taking part in translation in the Unit?

The purpose of this chapter, as well as the two subsequent chapters 6 and 7, is to illustrate the power of ideals in a practice – the *meanings* the translators assign to the things they do and to the ways they translate. I explain how the institutional role the translators have taken on has become a definitive aspect of the way translation is carried out in the Unit. I also show how the meanings the translators assign to their work gradually accumulate and gather force as they get entangled with the two other components of a practice: the *competences* of actors participating in them and the *materials* they employ to carry out action (Shove et al., 2012). I argue that all three components fuse into one another to form a tradition – a habitual way of translating things – in which the process becomes centralized and acquires authority beyond the individual actors comprising it.

In this chapter, I investigate the meanings assigned to translation by zooming my analytical lens into one predominant language ideology, the ideology of the standard language (Milroy, 2001, see section 2.1.3 on language ideologies). First, because language ideologies become most apparent in their discursive manifestations, I attempt to disentangle the meanings the Unit's translators assign to the development and incorporation of the local standard as these are construed through talk. But since language ideologies are also constitutive of and constituted in action, I also depict how the local ideal of standardization materializes itself in the way translation is carried out in the Unit through action; in the materials the translators use and in the way work is organized. In this chapter, I analyze the different roles and responsibilities the human and non-human actors are assigned or take on in the creation and maintenance of the standard.

The analysis draws on interviews, recordings of discussions I had with my participants during fieldwork, fieldwork notes and fieldwork diary entries. The data were coded to identify recurring themes. The themes that emerged in the analysis are covered in three subsections of this chapter: 5.1 The institutional

role of translation, 5.2 Meanings assigned to the local standard 5.3 The use of materials in the incorporation of a standard. The final subsection, 5.4 The consequences of standardization, synthesizes the findings of the preceding sections.

5.1 THE INSTITUTIONAL ROLE OF TRANSLATION

The first theme I want to focus on in my analysis is what kind of role the translators construe for themselves and for the practice of translation in the production of texts in academia. In the first interviews I conducted with both the translators and the language revisors, I wanted to understand how they themselves see their role within the University. All actors who participate in translation in the Unit construed similar stances to depict the role of the practice in the institution. When I talked about this with one of the translators[14] in our first interview, they said:

Extract 8.

[Tra] but what my role here then <sighs> , is so , well I am in a , in a way I see myself in a service occupation , and well , eh . I do think we probably are pretty important to [the University] so that it can function as a multilingual , university. and so , even though , I mean , Finns have a really , good command of languages , and I'm sure the university could be a multilingual university with a bit @poorer@ language skills but then , if there are these ambitious objectives [in university rankings] you have to , pay attention to quality [olla huolellinen] in every aspect so in that respect I think [the Unit] is an important unit in the , university strategy

In the interview I conducted with [Translator], they defined their work as "a service occupation". Highlighting this is a way to position the practice of translation as having a supportive role in facilitating how well the University manages to communicate to its non-Finnish speaking stakeholders. However, this is not the only role they construe for translation within the University. This becomes evident in the way [Translator] talks about how the University could in fact operate multilingually "with a bit poorer language skills". [Translator] juxtaposes such operations with communications that could play a part in University rankings. [Translator] construes a causal relation between the way the University constructs its image through language and university rankings. In extract 9 [Translator] clarifies that there are specific audiences that need to be addressed through language use that aligned with image the University aims to produce.

[14] The interviewee requested me not provide their speaker code for this and the following two extracts.

Extract 9.

HMP what kinds of texts do you , translate?

[Tra] well , I think the most visible are these [intranet] news and then those , science and research newsletters , they're translated by , us . but then unfortunately things like other [intranet] and web page content then , we'd love to help the university community , since they have these ambitious goals about being in the top [xxx] universities and , such so that would also become , evident through language as well . and , now for example that , students are being attracted [houkutella] from elsewhere..

HMP and there are tuition fees

[Tra] exactly . yes , and when they see our web pages that , it would look like we know how to do things. […] and if we want to be a [high-quality] @@@ research-intensive university that can be taken seriously then , then , I do think it should be apparent in , in every I mean , that we're not only halfway there

In its strategy document the University sets as one of its strategic objectives to become more international by increasing the number of scholarly publications in highly competitive international journals, by encouraging researchers to apply for international research funding and by attracting more international students and staff into its research centers and Master's programs. All of these are used as parameters in assessing the quality of institutions in university rankings.[15] Especially the number of international students and staff is directly related to the translators' role in the University as they could participate in "attracting" students and staff by producing an authoritative image of the University through the language used in the texts they translate.

Extract 10.

[Tra] if the university is marketed to the outside world as a sort of an expert , then our role is important because it doesn't seem , credible if you don't know how to , say it , right

HMP but that you feel like there's still , sort of like , need for improvement , in the university in this respect?

[Tra] well , I think so , it's like I'm slightly annoyed that communications clearly seems to spend a lot of money on this visual side and , and we do have these fancy web pages and , but when you go and have a look then there , there in the banner it might say something absolutely awful

[…]

[Tra] or if you're a student looking for a place to go do your degree in and you go to different universities' web pages and if , you come

[15] For example, the QS University Ranking measures, among other things, the "Citations per faculty", "International Faculty Ratio" and the "International Student Ratio" (https://www.topuniversities.com/qs-world-university-rankings/methodology).

> to a page where , everything is written in every which way @@@ then , maybe it doesn't seem as tempting

Throughout the interview [Translator] describes their role as an upholder of language quality. It is not as if texts cannot be produced in English by other actors in the University, and they in fact are, as is illustrated in extracts 9 and 10. What [Translator] is trying to evoke is a need to "pay attention to quality" (extract 8) in the University's communications that are directed to the "outside world".

In order to compete for the prestigious recruits and undergraduate candidates, the University's various communications teams produce marketing materials they circulate on the University's carefully designed external web pages; press releases that popularize science telling the general public about research conducted in the University and other kinds of content describing study programs or research teams. The press releases produced in the University are not only used to fulfil one of the missions of higher education, to "promote the social impact of university research findings" (Universities act 558/2009), but these genres are also produced to attract people to join the institution either as students or staff. The communications teams typically produce these genres in Finnish, although some produce texts in English as well. Most often, however, the University's press officers commission the Unit to translate the Finnish texts into English. It is the language versioning of these genres, which are partly produced for marketing purposes, which [Translator] construes as something that cannot be done with "poorer language skills" if the University wants to climb up in the university rankings.

The discourses [Translator] evokes in the extracts presented above construe two distinct understandings of language use. First, language is an everyday thing used in writing by people around the University to carry out routinized, mundane action – to get things done. In this discourse language users are individuals who communicate with other members of the same discourse community. The genres are typically not public; they can be emails sent to a colleague or memos circulating in a steering group. There seems to be a consensus in the Unit that this kind of written communication that is both relatively informal and unofficial is where language quality need not be the primary concern[16].

The second discourse being evoked, on the other hand, depicts the kind of language that is used to represent the institution in public. The language the University uses to communicate to the outside world – to the general public and prospective future community members – should epitomize the quality of the institution through the quality of the language it uses to communicate. Language, in this discourse, is not only about the transfer of knowledge but also a performance, a way to portray the University to the rest of the world.

[16] Similar textual hierarchies have been noted by Beaufort (2000).

The language the institution displays in its public communications becomes an index of the quality of the institution – a performance of authority and expertise through language. What [Translator] is trying to argue in these extracts is that people responsible for communications should understand that the language the University uses to communicate has the potential to advance or impede the goals the University has set for itself in its strategy. In this discourse language is objectified into a materialized commodity (see e.g. Shankar and Cavanaugh, 2012, p. 356; Duchêne and Heller, 2012b). In the extracts, [Translator] construes language as a tool for branding the University alongside the expensive-looking and visually attractive material used in marketing and outreach. From this perspective, the linguistic sign should be aligned with the indexes being evoked to market the University through other semiotic means.

Shankar and Cavanaugh (2012, p. 356) introduce the concept of "language materiality" to explain how "language is involved in commodification, circulation and value formation". They argue that the global economy we all currently inhabit has brought the materiality of language to the forefront in ways that might have seemed irrelevant earlier. Furthermore, the new digital world creates affordances for language to become objectified through commodification, circulated and recontextualized in ways that were not possible only a couple of decades ago. For example, the internet has made possible for the University to transfer knowledge to the public on a scale and at a speed that was unimaginable before. This potential is further accelerated by translation through which the University can reach wider audiences synchronically.

Shankar and Cavanaugh (2012) see language materiality as having two implications. The first is how the materiality of everyday life shapes ideologies and uses of language – how certain usages of language gain value and become "symbolic capital". In section 5.3 I demonstrate how the materials the translators employ participate in, and partly condition, the value formation of specific linguistic signs. The other implication is the material dimension of the mediation itself, for example, how the selection of a medium can affect the meanings and value signs accrue as they circulate through different media. As noted earlier, the signs entextualized into an email are far less likely to become indexes of institutional language quality than signs appearing on a marketing letter or a press release. Shankar and Cavanaugh (2012, p. 364) argue that "global economic and political structures are mediated through local linguistic and material practices", which is also what we see happening in the second discourse [Translator] evokes. In media where the sign has the potential to reach a wide and heterogenous audience, the globally recognized indexes of quality create commodifiable value for the institution. While the power of materiality to shape linguistic (and non-linguistic) practices is hardly new, the increased possibilities for mediatization create potential for commodifying language.

According to Agha (2011, p. 163), mediatization links "processes of communication to processes of commoditization". This means that signs, linguistic or non-linguistic, are "reflexively" linked to "commodity formation" by circulating them through media (Agha, 2011, p. 163). In the University, these links between forms of communication and commodification are most actively created in the genres used in outreach, and the objective is to create value to the education provided in and research carried out as part of the University. Agha (2011, p. 165) observes that mediatization is a form of mediation, that is "inter-linkages among semiotic encounters" taking place in "mediatized moments", i.e. in news, on websites or in other forms of media. In the University outreach, the Unit's translators participate in producing these semiotic encounters by mediating the linguistic sign. The language versions the translators produce widen the potential audience thus increasing the value of the "mediatized moments". The translators, as well as the in-house language revisors with whom the translators collaborate, are acutely aware that their mediation creates this potential for the sign to be dispersed more widely. For this reason, they believe the linguistic signs used in the mediatized moments should also be employed in a way that indexes the material value actively created to the institution through the marketing materials.

Typically, as language becomes mediatized, the process involves a set of actors that occupy different kinds of communicative roles, i.e. the process of mediatization is distributed across an assemblage of actors. Agha (2011, p. 163) describes this as "expanding the effective scale of production and dissemination of messages across a population", which I understand to mean that mediatized linguistic forms are designed and formulated by multiple actors to ensure they produce the desired effect. This suggests that mediatization invokes a need for language regulation. And in fact, according to Agha (2011, p. 168) "mediatized objects are often transformed across a chain of communication, acquiring distinct formulations in distinct chain segments". In the University this means that the responsibilities in communicating in different languages are distributed between press officers, translators of different languages and language revisors, who all take part in the mediatization process to ensure the University's messages reach as wide an audience and produce as favorable an uptake as possible (Risku et al., 2010 also observe how translation creates value for organizations).

Through mediatization, the communication used in outreach becomes a high-stakes endeavor. It has the potential to reach mass audiences in unexpected spatiotemporal locations. This creates a need to evoke the most widely recognized and acknowledged indexes of language quality. Often the most widely recognized indexes are also the most conservative ones, such as the ideal of native-speakerism that also comes up in (subsequent) extracts from my interview with Senior translator: "as a European university, we should use British English". In the extracts above [Translator] positioned the members of the translation team (but also the freelance translators and language revisors) as the ones who should be responsible for the language

versioning of the high-stakes genres, i.e. web pages, marketing material, press releases, etc. Similar stances were echoed in interviews with the other translators (see for example the discussion in section 6.4) This is because, not only do they have the competence (the knowledge distributed across the Unit, discussed in chapter 4) to mediate the marketing materials into a conservative and widely acknowledged linguistic sign, but also because, unlike the various other actors in the University, they have the means – the ways they organize work and the materials – to standardize the language in the output they produce.

5.2 MEANINGS ASSIGNED TO THE LOCAL STANDARD

As discussed above, the translators feel that it is important for the University to index its status through language and construe themselves as having the ability to help the institution to communicate credibly and authoritatively in English. As became evident, their services are not always commissioned when the University communicates to its external stakeholders in English. There are also other actors involved in producing English-medium content for international audiences. This at times creates tensions as the translators' ideals of institutional language use are either neglected or contested by other actors who hold competing ideals of "good" language use.

Extract 11.

SenTra	it would be wonderful if the university had a kind of , an official @@@ , who sort of , in reality okay we have the language policy . and it's now followed in units . eh , more or less but people seem to interpret it , in different ways . but when people ask us what is the right and official , way to say something . well that doesn't exist , and then people are so disappointed . on the other hand we can't sort of , we can't officially sort of say that this, this is the only way to say this . we don't have the authority. that , the kind of only thing we've sort of , pushed through or we at least follow in our own texts is that, the [University] happens to be a european university , so we should write british English . but then there , are units who , in any case will not . some center it will, it will write the centre sort of , I mean c-e-n-t-e-r , sort of till the end of the world no matter how much we try to @@ , change it to c-e-n-t-r-e so like , this , this sort of thing @@
HMP	yes . but do you mean like it originated with you the , sort of , the idea that british English is the one that..?
SenTra	well yes , because that has been asked from us as well , and we have then , because there is , is no one who we could ask on the upper floors , so then we decided in our own little heads that well lets at least decide upon this policy

In extract 11 Senior translator talks about how the University lacks official standards for English-medium communication. In order to be able to produce language that adheres to the translators' ideals of institutional language use in English-medium communications, the institution would need to set a standard against which the actualization of the ideal could be measured. In the Unit, the translators know that such standards for English-medium communication in a non-Anglophone context would require collective efforts to standardize language, which is why they have created their local standard, the *Style guide for translators*. From extract 11 it becomes apparent that the lack of an institution-wide official standard creates frustration in the translators because it impedes the establishment of uniformity across English-medium communications. They would like to see someone, "an official", taking a stand and establishing what counts as "good" English within this particular institution because then the standard would be explicitly established by an authoritative body. But, as becomes apparent, there is no official body to take on such a responsibility. Instead, the institution has established a language policy. The policy has not, however, had the effects Senior translator would have hoped since people "interpret it in different ways".

Typically, policy documents and especially language policies attempt to serve various and often conflicting objectives (Saarinen & Taalas, 2017) and end up being vague in their phrasing. Language policies often operate on the level of abstract principles instead of exact codes of conduct that leave them open for interpretation. Leaving the standard undefined, then, leaves it open for people to "interpret in different ways", as noted by Senior translator. English being a global language with more than one standard creates a situation where there is more than one potential normative center (Blommaert, 2010) and standards for people to align themselves with – and because the University does not regulate what language should be like, "the right and official way to say something doesn't exist". For the translators, language quality is equated with uniformity that can only be accomplished through the adoption of a specific standard, in this case "British English".

In order to be credible and to evoke a sense of expertise and authority, the translators and language revisors think the University should adopt a standard, as detailed and explicit as the *Style guide* (see 4.2.1) and adhere to it in all its outreach. This, however, does not seem to be a pressing concern for the University administration: "there's no one who we could ask on the upper floors". Then again, the translators themselves "don't have the authority" to make such decisions either, at least not on an institutional level as official guidelines other actors would be obliged to follow. But the fact that the translators do not have the power to draw a policy that everyone would follow does not stop them from forming a policy that they adhere to in their own work. Over the years, through regulating the language of the translations they themselves produce, the translators have established a particular way of writing in English – a practiced language policy (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012). In the

next section, I will illustrate how they carried this out and what repercussions it has had on the institutional language.

5.2.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRACTICED POLICIES

How is it that practices become policies? And how is it even possible for the translators to establish a policy without the authority to do so? In this section, I will show how micro-level linguistic decisions made during the translation process that in the beginning have only a very local effect can, as time goes by, gradually accumulate into an institutional standard – a language policy that ends up having a wider scope and potential to regulate the language of actors that are not even aware that, officially, such an institution-wide policy does not exist.

Before explaining how such a policy can come into being, I need to briefly explain how the Unit developed to provide the kind of translation services it does today.

> Senior translator had been working for the Unit since the late 1980s – that is, for three decades. During that time the translation service had developed from a one-person operation into a full-blown team effort. Senior translator told me that even though they worked as the sole translator for the first decade[17], they did not work alone, but in close collaboration with freelance language revisors who, according to Senior translator, were active parties in the development of the house-style that was later compiled to the *Style guide*. The English translator team's quality assurance mechanism – the two-stage revision process – began to take form 30 years ago. The maintenance of uniformity is rather straightforward if there is only one person producing translations, but whenever there is more than one person involved in doing something, there are also at least two possible ways to carry things out. As the translation service grew little by little, so did the need to develop shared understandings about what it was that the translators were doing and why – they needed to develop shared ideals about what "good" translation meant in the Unit.

How did the translators develop shared understandings? According to Senior translator, the two-stage revision process most translations go through was developed very early on in the history of the Unit's translation services. As soon as a translator colleague, Translator 3, was hired to accompany Senior translator, the two translators began to collaborate. As Translator 3 first worked in the Unit as an intern, Senior translator habitually read through the translations Translator 3 produced and suggested modifications when necessary. The two translators soon noticed that the read through improved the quality of all translations, and gradually the bilingual revision phase became part of the practice of translation in the Unit.

[17] As did their predecessor, who established the procedure for the freelance language revisors to monolingually revise translations.

The bilingual revision process was established because the translation service grew from a one-person operation into a community of translators. Bilingual revision organizes and distributes work in a way that creates an affordance for translation and its revision phases to happen synchronously (as discussed in chapter 4). The bilingual revision process is used to ensure the quality of the translations produced by both the in-house translator team and the more peripheral members of the team, i.e. the freelancers and newcomers, and to socialize them to the norms of the community. As the Unit's in-house and freelance translator pool grew, the English translator team needed to develop ways to monitor the quality of the translations produced by freelancers, but also to systematize the language used in translation in the Unit. In other words, as the community grew larger, there was an increasing need to standardize the translations and create ways for the maintenance of the local, Unit-internal translation standard.

It seems essential to note here that the bilingual revision also has constraints. It slows the translation process significantly and creates costs, because the time invested in carrying out bilingual revision could also be allocated to the translation of more texts. Curiously, however, Senior translator notes that the translation process in the English translator team is faster compared to the Swedish team, despite the two-step revision process. In the Swedish team, the translations are revised by only one translator, who revises both in terms of the equivalence of content and quality of language during the same read (all Swedish translators are bilingual). According to Senior translator, the Swedish translators also feel that the revision process is more taxing than the bilingual revision done by the English translators who can leave the final "polishing" of the text to the language revisors. For the Unit translators, the constraints seem to be outweighed by the affordances, and despite of increasing time pressures, both the bilingual revision and monolingual revision phase have remained part of every enactment of translation into English in the Unit. This indicates that the bilingual revision phase might serve other purposes besides quality assurance. One crucial function of bilingual revision seems to be to socialize newcomers to the community and develop shared understandings.

5.2.2 SOCIALIZATION THROUGH ACTION

In the Unit translation is a process that both socializes peripheral members through the translation process as instructions provided "through language" so that the newcomers would eventually be able "to use language" to translate (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986, p. 163). As the peripheral members are socialized through action to the ways of translating in the Unit, they are also expected to learn, recognize and reproduce "social order and cultural knowledge, beliefs, values, ideologies, symbols, and indexes" (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011, p. 11), i.e. the shared meanings assigned for translation in the Unit. In the production of English translations in the Unit, different members of the community are

allowed to occupy different roles. All the translators, be they newcomers, freelancers or senior members of the community, can act as the first translator who is ultimately responsible for the production of the translation (see chapter 6). There is, however, a clear distinction in who are allowed to act as bilingual revisors in the translation process. This role is reserved solely for the more experienced, in-house translators of the Unit. Interestingly, Beaufort (2000) has noted that the novice writers she studied often first assisted in the production of texts by revising, editing or correcting grammar in texts written by more experienced members of the community. However, in the Unit, this type of assistance falls more clearly to the language revisors remit. Instead, in the Unit, bilingual revision more pronouncedly entails monitoring the more peripheral members' performance. Having worked in the Unit, being already familiar with its norms and the ideals of "good" translation, and having had a part in the standard's development makes the more senior members equipped to monitor that the norms and ideals are being adhered to by all members of the community.

That being said, the bilingual revision is not just about monitoring, it is also used in the maintenance of the standard developed in the Unit. The more experienced translators also intervene when some of the norms are violated. The translators work with a variety of genres and different genres evoke different sets of norms (see chapter 6). The translators are expected to produce different displays of language quality in a press release than they are in a curriculum text. That is, language quality manifests differently in different genres. The more experienced translators embody a range of tacit knowledge about the production of language quality in different genres. The newcomers can only gain access to this knowledge on the job, i.e. by doing the work and learning from the mistakes the experienced translators point out and explain to them – by being socialized through language and to use language. This type of guidance is typically computer-mediated and a built-in feature of the bilingual revision process. The bilingual revision, and particularly the interventions introduced during this phase thus function as a way of socializing the more peripheral members of the community to the shared norms and ideals of the community, but importantly, also as a way to develop shared practical understandings about translation in the Unit more generally. The introduction of the interventions during bilingual revision can be indirect and resemble a negotiation or more assertive and authoritative if the interventions are introduced directly to the texts (see chapter 6). In the Unit, the bilingual revision is a way of doing things that help the newcomers acquire the knowledge the more experienced members already embody – and a way to enforce the standardization of knowledge needed to carry out translation in the Unit.

There are also two other ways, besides the bilingual revision, to socialize new translators – namely the *Style guide for translators* and the translation memory (see chapter 4). In the following section, I want to explain how the translators use the *Style guide* and the translation memory to develop a

uniform voice and to standardize the English used in the institution through translation.

5.3 THE USE OF MATERIALS IN THE INCORPORATION OF A STANDARD

Socialization through monitoring and intervening in translation is one way to create uniformity and standardize language. But socialization only works if there is something one can be socialized into, i.e. there already exists a standard against which one's performance can be monitored. As described above, the translator community needed to develop ways to enforce and codify the standard (for discussion on codification in translation, see Risku et al., 2010; González Núñez, 2016, 2017; Olohan, 2019, 2021). Typically, standard languages require maintenance that is often carried out by encoding the standard into artefacts, such as dictionaries or grammars. The actors participating in translation in the Unit legitimized the standard by encoding it to the materials they use in translation. One of the materials into which the standard used in the Unit has been encoded is the *Style guide for translators*.

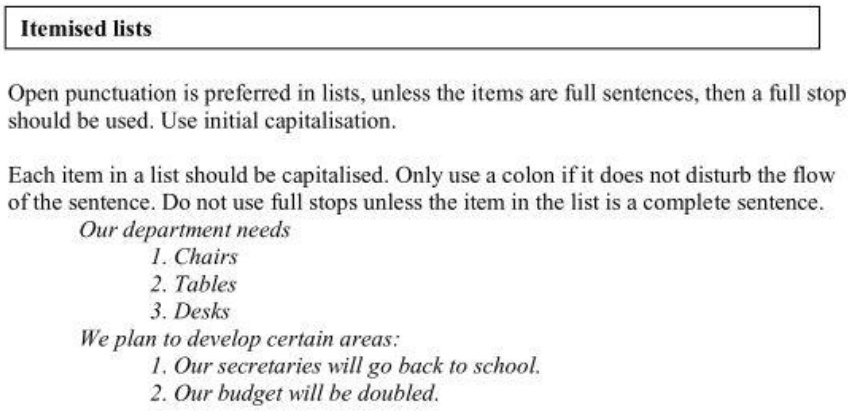
5.3.1 THE *STYLE GUIDE FOR TRANSLATORS*

The *Style guide for translators* contains the Unit's translators' standards for spelling, (a limited set of) terminology and its consistent use, hyphenation, usage of capital letters, abbreviations, punctuation, quotation marks, layout of lists, design of headings, typographic features, numbers and dates (see section 4.2.1). Most of the codification seems to center around orthographic conventions, and at first glance, might seem like issues of minor importance. These features could be discarded as purely non-denotational, i.e. they might be considered trivial in the production of language quality. While these are meaningless aspects of language from the point of view of spoken communication, they do carry meanings in the written mode. Written language operates through meanings encoded into signs that appear on a page, screen or other textual artifact. The features listed in the *Style guide* are signs the translators use to index meanings that are either irrelevant or communicated through other, e.g. phonetic or gestural means in oral communication. In text orthographic symbols can structure the message in the same way as pausing or intonation does in speech, but orthography has yet another function – it indexes conventionality. Orthographic symbols and the meanings the translators assign to them are part of the ways in which the Unit's translators construe a genre.

To illustrate this, I will offer two examples of how orthography is used in the Unit's translations to index a genre. One of the most common genres the translators produce is the press release. In press releases, the University's press officers often entextualize interview quotes from their interviewees (a

relatively typical feature of a journalistic text). In the Finnish original texts, the press officers use en dash + space [– reported speech] to index that the stretch of text that is about to follow is a direct quote from a person they have interviewed. When rewriting the piece of news into English, the *Style guide* instructs translators to "Use double quotation marks for news articles, with the punctuation inside of the closing quotation mark". Both the en dash and double quotation marks ["quotation"] are used to produce the same meaning, to index an entextualized quotation, but they have different orthographic manifestations in the Finnish and English press releases.

The other example comes from course descriptions in curricula documents in which a highly typical feature are lists of various kinds (e.g. learning outcomes, course completion methods, teaching methods, etc.). The course descriptions in the curricula are originally produced by the teachers responsible for organizing the course who employ a way of making lists that they themselves prefer. There is no administrative body regulating the layout of an itemized list in a curriculum document at the University. The outcome of this is that the lists the various teachers produce differ from one another – that is until they are translated into English in the Unit. Figure 6 reproduces the advice the *Style guide* provides for the production of itemized lists.



Itemised lists

Open punctuation is preferred in lists, unless the items are full sentences, then a full stop should be used. Use initial capitalisation.

Each item in a list should be capitalised. Only use a colon if it does not disturb the flow of the sentence. Do not use full stops unless the item in the list is a complete sentence.

Our department needs
1. *Chairs*
2. *Tables*
3. *Desks*

We plan to develop certain areas:
1. *Our secretaries will go back to school.*
2. *Our budget will be doubled.*

Figure 6 *Instructions for the production of itemized lists in the Unit's translations*

As the translators follow the instructions of the *Style guide*, they regulate the uniformity of the curricula documents through orthographic standardization. The systematicity the translators introduce into list-making (but also other features, such as capitalization) takes the level of orthographic uniformity further than what originally existed in the course descriptions that were produced by a heterogeneous set of actors who did not follow any prescribed orthographic conventions. In fact, the translators even intervene in stretches of text that the teachers originally wrote in English in ways that make these sections adhere better to the standard they themselves developed. In other words, the English curricula are more uniform across texts than the original versions because they have been translated in the Unit.

The counterforce for standardization is variation, and thus standardization logically means eliminating different ways of saying or doing things. In the Unit, whenever the translators encountered equally eligible ways of saying things in English, they needed to decide which of the alternatives to include in the local Unit-internal standard. The process of compiling the standard came up in interviews with the in-house translators and with Revisor 1, who collaborates extensively with the translators and participates in the translation process as a monolingual revisor more often than the other two language revisors. In the following extract, Revisor 1 tells me about the compilation process in an interview.

Extract 12.

HMP	yeah yeah . so er, there's interesting stuff in in the style guide for translators and I was like , thinking , because at first I thought it was just like compiled, by you like it says in the cover
Rev1	well no but compiled in meetings , you know er..
HMP	yeah yes , you have meetings where you discuss these issues and then together , decide upon a policy and then it gets put into the style guide or..
Rev1	yeah the first version , I just used the common things that go into most style guides . you know , the things that everyone argues over . and then , after that we just keep- kept making lists of things we disagreed on and then each round we added those in . and we just voted , you know . and it's very influenced , the translators actually have first opinion because , they're the ones doing the most work . so they they should actually get their way@@

The first version of the *Style guide* was produced by Revisor 1 by including "common things that go into most style guides". Later, the standard was further developed in collaboration with the other actors participating in translation. The translators made notes of the alternatives that were debated over during the translation process and of the ones chosen to be used in the translations. The alternatives and the items they had selected into the translations were then reassessed in annual meetings and after a formal decision had been reached, compiled into the *Style guide for translators*. In the later editions, the decisions over what to include in the standard were made democratically ("we just voted"), but the translators' opinion was prioritized. This appears as a way of *legitimizing* the standard. The legitimization proceeds in two ways: first, the codification (compiling the *Style guide*) of the standard legitimizes its use, and second, by involving and empowering those who are mainly responsible for the maintenance of the standard in the decision-making process, the standard accrues legitimacy in the eyes of "the ones doing the most work".

Another interesting observation that can be made of this extract is that the function of the *Style guide* is to settle disagreements over stylistic matters: "we just kept- kept making lists of things we disagreed on then each round we

added those in". The underlying assumption seems to be that if everyone in the Unit, with their differing backgrounds and personal preferences, would opt for the conventions they preferred, the translated texts would contain too high a degree of variability to be acknowledged as a house style. Revisor 1 construes the reduction of variability as the production of a standard, and uniformity as a desirable attribute of translated texts.

The consistent use of standardized orthographic conventions is a way to signal uniformity in an intertextual ecology of texts produced by various actors that all represent one entity, in this case the University. As these are features that recur throughout the texts translated in the Unit, although to different degrees and as slightly modified for each genre, orthography makes a convenient place to start when aspiring to standardize language. The standardization of orthography also has more permanence than, for example, attempts to standardize vocabulary since meanings assigned to orthographic symbols are less vulnerable to permutation than denotational and especially indexical meanings. This does not, however, mean that attempts to standardize vocabulary are not on the language professionals' agenda. Some aspects of vocabulary, for example titles and higher education terminology, are indeed standardized in the Unit's translations. Some of these issues are addressed in the *Style guide for translators*, but mostly the standardization of vocabulary is carried out with the translation memory. In the next section, I will describe how the memory is used in the deployment of the local standard.

5.3.2 TECHNOLOGY AS AN AGENT OF REGULATION

Another quality assurance mechanism the translators talked about was the translation memory software they use as a tool to aid translation. The excerpt below is taken from an interview with Translator 4, who was at the time of the interview one of the freelance translators to whom translation was often outsourced (later hired as an in-house translator). Freelancers were typically used especially in larger projects that take time to complete and, if translated internally, would prevent the in-house translators from dealing with urgent translation orders. Here Translator 4 is recollecting a specific assignment they were commissioned to do since the translation project included a large body of texts from different faculties. The passage below is a reaction to a topic I brought up by asking Translator 4 about any work-related training they might have received during the time they had been doing translations for the Unit. Translator 4 remembered being invited to a pre-project training, presumably organized by the client, where the translators were informed about the project's schedule and general guideline-related issues:

Extract 13.

HMP you said that you were in the auditing, eh . thing . was it training? like or do I remember correctly?

Tra4 eh we had a preliminary, eh . yeah . like . mm , meeting where we got the big memory [administrative memory] and went through a bit of these . yeah . it was.
HMP yeah . but it isn't a normal practice then
Tra4 it's not like it's a habitual thing but maybe with a thing like that one because it was such a huge project and it had , many , thousand or tens of thousands of pages to be translated so it probably made sense and because , it was massive so it was distributed so , that I for example had texts from a couple of faculties so , I think they distributed texts by faculties . and in the beginning , we went through major issues , like this is what and how we'll be doing it and . but , to a large extent , well the , memory is a pretty important guideline , in a way because it gives you that , practice has been accumulated into it during the years , so you get in a way sort of , continuous input , which is a guideline at the same time as well so that okay , this has been done like this , because things can be said in many different ways and they're all right but of course , we try to do it the way it's been done before . to keep it aligned

The training as such is not construed as very useful in providing guidelines for translation which is probably why such events are not a "habitual thing". What is construed as "a pretty important guideline" is the translation memory. The translator says that in the preliminary meeting, they were given a general overview of how the project would proceed, but the most important guideline the freelancers needed to adhere to was encoded into the translation memory.

The value of the software does not just lie in making translation faster. In fact, what Translator 4 construes as the most valuable aspect of the tool is that the translation memory regulates what the target text should look like. In practice this means that the texts should resemble previous translations as much as possible. The requirement of uniformity is apparent especially at the end of the excerpt, where the translator claims that they "try to do it the way it's been done before. To keep it aligned". During fieldwork, I participated in a training where a representative from the company providing the CAT software instructed the translators on the use of the pro version of Wordfast. During the training, the translators noted that, at the time (29 November 2017), the memory contained over 500 000 translated segments, and accumulated continuously as new translations were added to the memory. The memory contains translated texts across all genres the translators produce and covers a wide range of topics, thus providing a means to store "good practice" that can be entextualized into every new enactment of translation.

Most often the translation memory was used by employing the concordance function to search for terminology (e.g. *immuunipuolustus – immune system*, *seurantatutkimus – follow-up study, syöpäsairaus - cancer*), higher education vocabulary (*tutkijakoulutus – doctoral education, opetukselliset*

ansiot – pedagogical qualifications, uravaihe – career stage, acronyms of software[18], *julkaisutyyppiluokitus – classification of publication types*) and names of institutions and titles[19]. I once observed Translator 4 working on a call for applications. A call for applications is a relatively formulaic genre in that many of the phrases appearing in the text are recycled from earlier calls. In addition, calls for applications create intertextual links to other genres, typically at least to legislation and curricula (the latter especially when the University is hiring teaching staff). While I was observing Translator 4 translating the call for applications, I noted them making extensive use of the concordance function, not only to do searches on terminology or vocabulary more generally, but also to look for matches for entire phrases (e.g. *hae paikkaa linkin kautta – apply by clicking the link below, hakemus sekä liitteet – the applications, with attachments, taito tuottaa oppimateriaalia – the ability to produce learning material*). At one point, Translator 4 grew weary of doing concordance searches and stated: "This is a bit irritating, I feel like I could just translate these by myself, but I don't want to make up [säveltää] stuff since these have been translated before".

It seems that the Unit's translators feel obliged to adhere to and carry out maintenance of the standard through the use of the translation memory, although in the translation of some genres, such as press releases, the maintenance of uniformity seems less critical. There were also times when the translators decided to depart from the suggestions offered by the memory, even in the more formulaic genres. When Translator 4 was translating the call for applications, they did a concordance search for the phrase *hakijoita pyydetään* for which the software provided the match *Applicants are asked*. Translator 4 did not insert the phrase as such but added the word *kindly* to the phrase thus making the request more polite. This seems to suggest that even with the more formulaic genres, there is some room for maneuver, and that the translators need to be aware which of the lexemes and phrases can be modified and which need to be entextualized into the translation as they appear in the translation memory.

During fieldwork, I witnessed an incident in which a freelance translator had not understood the importance of the translation memory for the practice of translation in the Unit. In the earlier chapters I have referred to this incident at certain points, but now I will discuss the case in more detail. In extract 14 Senior translator, who did the bilingual revision, is criticizing the translation the freelancer provided.

Extract 14.

SenTra and this other document was , the statement on teaching skills [opetustaitolausunto] , so well here is for example a reference to the Universities Act

[18] Cannot be exemplified due to anonymity reasons.

[19] Examples taken from fieldwork notes.

HMP	mm-hm? which is in finlex in English
SenTra	it is in finlex yeah
HMP	but it wasn't used?
SenTra	no and it should also be in all of these memories that were delivered to the freelancer

The freelancer was provided with the memory as well as other texts related to the document they were commissioned to translate. In addition, the commissioned document, as well as the others sent to the freelancer, were intertextually linked to a piece of legislation: the Universities Act. In this document, an assessment committee evaluated candidates applying for a position at the University. The qualifications for the position are determined in the Universities Act which the original Finnish language text was referring to in its phrasing. The freelance translator, however, failed to make the same references in their English translation of the document. In their translation the freelancer had, instead of using the reference material and the tools provided for them, "made up" (Senior translator, fieldwork recording) their own ways of saying things even though it should have been obvious that the materials were sent to them for a reason.

While part of what the translators are expected to do is to develop English equivalents for Finnish ways of saying things, this however, was not the case here. Especially with official documents, all the translators were very strict in insisting that the Unit's translations need to employ already established official English phrasings provided in earlier translations or on Finlex (Finland's Ministry of Justice owned online database of legislative and judicial information). This is particularly important if texts draw on legal documents.

Extract 15.

SenTra	these [the terms] need to be consistent , in order to make it look like for example these that these applicants are treated equally

The terms used in the Finnish language document drew on the Universities Act and because of that the translator also needed to employ the official translations of the terms. If the translators would develop their own terminology in such cases the meanings could change, which could jeopardize applicants' legal rights.

But how was the freelancer to know when to employ terminology already in use and when to develop their own wordings? In the Unit, the translation memory is used to help determine this. With the concordance search function, the translators can look for specific expressions or phrases to find out if there already exists an established way of saying things for the expression, in other words they can use the memory to determine whether the expression is already in use in the texts circulating in the University. With the translation memory, the translators do not have to do the "detective work" (Senior translator, interview) with Google and dictionaries each time they encounter terminology or phrases that sound official.

The translation memory not only aids in creating uniformity across texts but also within a single piece of text. The memory is used extensively when the translators are asked to produce a translation of a lengthy text within a short amount of time.

Extract 16.

UnitDir and the translation memory is of course a phenomenal thing because we translate , similar kinds of administrative texts for example so the terminology remains consistent . and well , then of course if it's , a quick job , a long job kind of , so it might be split between more than one translator who start working on it at the same time . and then these are , merged together . so that , it looks like , in the end like it was made by one person

The affordances of the translation memory, as the Unit director depicts them in extract 16, allow the translators to distribute the translation of a single text across different translators. Even if the text is translated by two or more translators, often spatially and sometimes even temporally apart from one another, with the help of the software, "the terminology remains consistent". The software helps reduce variation and settle disputes by providing an authoritative voice. This example also illustrates on a micro-level how the translation memory software aids in the incorporation of a uniform institutional voice for the University. It shows how the translation memory enables the Unit's translators to produce texts that look as if they were "made by one person" by encoding the earlier enactments of translation into the tool thus accumulating the "shared institutional memory" (Svoboda, 2017, p. 105).

The translation memory becomes a way of storing "good practice", an assemblage of established ways of translating things, retrievable by those in the Unit with access to the memory, i.e. the in-house translators, as well as freelance translators if they have been provided with the memory. And as such, it has gradually morphed into a tool for standardizing vocabulary. The degree to which the translators were able to standardize linguistic signs before the introduction of the software was limited compared to the possibilities the translation memory now offers for storing and deploying standardized vocabulary. And because it has created these affordances for standardization, it cannot be overlooked by the Unit's translators. The decisions made about how to translate signs have come to possess authority on their own through being inscribed into the memory.

Inscription, according to Latour (1999, p. 306) "refers to all the types of transformations through which an entity becomes materialized into a sign, an archive, a document, a piece of paper, a trace". The act of translating, choosing the phrasal equivalent for the original sign, entextualizing it into the piece of text under production and storing it into the memory where it is retrievable by others who encounter the same original sign amalgamates the intertextual links made in the original and the translated texts. All of these acts materialize the selected form. The two signs (the original and the translation) blend into

one sign and come to share the same referent in the local, standardized language continuously under creation in the Unit. This co-referential relationship would exist without the translation memory, but its power to assert authority over future translations would not, or at least it would be much weaker. According to Tusting et al. (2019, p. 14), "[i]nscription solidifies meanings and circulates them, co-ordinating the work of diverse actors". It is precisely because the translation memory is able to archive and circulate the standardized vocabulary that grants the memory its authority. Risku et al., (2010), drawing on Hansen and his collaborators, note that the codification of translation knowledge stores knowledge from people to documents by extracting it from the individual responsible for its development, establishing knowledge as independent of that particular individual and available for reuse in different places and times (see also Olohan, 2021). A similar case could be made about the translation memory (Olohan, 2021, p. 114). Through the memory, the decisions made by individual translators become repeated, reproduced and ratified – and eventually legitimized as the appropriate alternative – the way of translating things in the Unit.

Of course, the translation memory, as a piece of software, does not assert authority on itself. The authority it has been granted in the Unit is a product of the entanglement of the all-too-human ideals of uniformity and the affordances of the technology to actualize it – to bring the ideal into existence in the texts that are translated in the Unit. The first thing the Unit's translators often mentioned about the memory in interviews was that "it makes the translation process so much easier and quicker" (Senior translator, similar discourses were produced in other translators' interviews). However, the way the Unit's translators talk about the translation memory also indicates that there might have been an already existing need for a tool to aid in the standardization of translations, at least in such an institutional context in which the Unit's translators operate. Irrespective of whether or not the ideal of uniformity preceded the introduction of the software or only came into existence after its deployment, its potential for standardization now further enforces the need to abide to the ideal. The ideal that previously was impossible to put into force to the degree it currently is, has become possible because of the non-human component in the equation. The translation memory is able to store the intertextual links between the original and the translated sign beyond the capacities of the English translation team, let alone any individual translator. The archival function enhances the ability of the Unit's translators to retrieve the communally agreed English manifestation of an already translated sign. It becomes a tool for distributed remembering, and the technology takes on those responsibilities in the standard's maintenance that are beyond the capabilities of the human translator to control.

This has a bearing on the frameworks for participation in translation, i.e. the ways in which responsibilities and roles are distributed across the individuals and the technology taking part in the translation process. It is clear that all those participating in the production of a translation mediate the

process somehow (see chapter 6), i.e. that all human participants regulate the end-product according to the roles assigned to them, but how does the mediating role of a translator differ from that of translation memory software? It seems that the translation memory has taken on some of the responsibilities of the human actors who participate in the translation process.

At this point, it is worth establishing the type of agency that can be attributed to the different actors who occupy positions in the translation process. According to Kockelman (2007), there are two types of agency: residential and representational agency. Kockelman (2007, p. 379) argues that residential agency firstly determines the extent to which an actor can "control the expression of a sign". Residential agency enables the composition of "a sign-object relation", i.e. the creation of a link between the sign and the object it stands for. Residential agency also determines where and when the sign can be expressed, and how it should be interpreted. Kockelman (2007, p. 383) describes representational agency as the degree to which one can "thematize a process", meaning how much the actor is able to determine what is being talked about (thematize), choose the words to describe things (characterize) and make sense of the theme-character relation. Kockelman argues that "residential agency involves having *power* over social, semiotic, and material processes, representational agency involves having *knowledge* about social, semiotic, and material processes" (2007, p. 376 emphasis mine).

Most of the agentive power that the translation memory software has lies in having power to control the expression of a sign. This means that the translation memory has the power to limit the variation of expression in English, as long as there exists an already established coreference of meaning. As long as a phrase, a term or an expression occurring in a translation has been translated before, the software has power to determine the sign in the English translation. The software does not wield power in composing a sign-object relation in itself. That is the task of the human translator who either looks up or comes up with the expression to be used in the translation. The software does, however, have a role in legitimizing that relation. Through inscription, being imported into the software and later exported into future enactments of translation, the human-composed relation is legitimized into a standard by controlling where and when the sign can be expressed. Although the initial composition of the relationship is established by the human, the subsequent reproductions, and the sedimentation of the sign-meaning relationship, are carried out by the translation memory. The translation memory also has a partial role in determining the effect a phrase or term has in the ecology of English texts circulating in the University. The more a form circulates, the more it acquires legitimacy – and as a form is circulated, the more it predetermines the future reproductions of the sign.

Representational agency is the responsibility of the human actors in the process. Most of what Kockelman describes as representational agency are in fact also beyond the translators' control. The translators do not choose the topics of the texts they translate, nor do they determine what actually gets said

about the topic, although they have some control in the framing of a topic (as they style different genres, see chapter 6). The translators also have a lot of power in determining the exact words that are used to talk about something.

As technology gets entangled in the production of translations in the Unit, the roles people used to occupy dissolve and become organized in new ways. The involvement of technology allows the emergence of new participatory roles and "for role fractions to be distributed in new ways" (Gershon, 2017, p. 23). The roles and responsibilities that the translation software occupies are not exactly the same as the ones occupied by the human participants. The responsibilities of the software are fractions of the ones the humans take on as they participate in the translation process.

The regulatory power resides in the different fractions of roles in the translation process, in the ways in which the different actors take part in the conventionalized cycles of text production. It is the *standardization* of language that is granted authority and agency, not the individual actors involved in its composition. The agency involved in the standardization process is distributed temporally, spatially, across individuals, as well as non-human entities that get entangled in the production of the standard.

5.4 THE CONSEQUENCES OF STANDARDIZATION

The decisions the translators and language revisors make in order to unify the institutional language and incorporate a local standard become "objectified through entextualization" (Cavanaugh & Shankar, 2017, p. 360). These forms selected in the local standard are objectified because after being incorporated into the standard, they accrue more value than the other alternatives. Thus, they become legitimized. The standardization also requires that the selected form is entextualized, first through inscription into either the *Style guide for translators* or the translation memory, and later into other texts translated in the Unit.

The acts of inscription and entextualization assign authority to the materialized form. As the translated texts circulate in various fora, the coreference established first in translation and later sedimented by the translation memory produces increased fixity to the selected sign and eventually an iconic sign-object relation. The fixity of the relation is interpreted as a convention – it is "transformation masked as repetition" (Mazzarella, 2010, p. 798). As selected forms are conventionalized, they become eligible for commodification, to be used in the University's outreach to index "the high quality of the University's operations" (Language policy document). The knowledge and resources needed in the production of uniformity are only within the reach of a selected few, the Unit's translators. The establishment and incorporation of a standard are thus also ways to commodify the expertise the translators possess. Being able to maintain and develop the standard, to produce uniformity, creates additional value to the

sometimes rather mechanistically understood language versioning work that the translators do (see also Risku et al., 2010).

Extract 17.

Tra2 the thing is precisely that we can with like , our like , experience and history and professional expertise make these kinds of . but we make them very or actually we don't really make any public announcements , but because every , text that's translated into English, goes through us so , so when we make in the style guide or elsewhere make these kinds of decisions then they are . the university's decisions so..

HMP right, yes

Tra2 spelling and , punctuation and , things like these . I remember that , people used to think , at some point people had the idea that we were like an administrative body . that we , like draw up policies and can like . dictate but it's funny because formally we most certainly are not . that we don't have that kind of authority but , but in practice@@

The gradual accumulation of decisions – made in the *Style guide*, translation memory and in the translation output – have eventually led to the incorporation of a standard. Standardized uniformity is no longer merely an alternative that translators can choose to conform to or ignore. Through material affordances, it has eventually metamorphosed into a language ideology that the translators are normatively enjoined to abide to. Having accrued this status, the standard now needs maintenance. This is why, nowadays, negligence of this ideology can have consequences, such as in the case of the freelance translator who ignored the reference materials provided for them and who no longer receives commissions from the Unit.

The decisions the translators have made in the incorporation of a standard for the texts translated into English in the Unit have also come to possess authority, to be able to regulate the linguistic conduct of people beyond the scope originally intended. In the 2010s the University went through an educational reform. Senior translator told me that the administrative bodies responsible for drafting instructions to degree programs on how to produce material had compiled a list of suggestions from the program boards for names of individual programs in English. The administrators sent the suggestions as an Excel file to the Unit's translators, after which Senior translator and Revisor 1 began to systematize the degree program names. Senior translator recalled that the coordinators of the doctoral programs even invited Unit staff to participate in a meeting where they "carefully went through each of the programme names". In 2014 and 2016 the University's administrative bodies drafted instructions for forming names for the University's new degree programs. In these instructions they stated that:

Extract 18.

> 2. All English names for degree programmes are formed as follows
> English formulation: Bachelor's Programme in X
> Master's Programme in X
> Doctoral Programme in X
>
> Justifications for the English formulation:
> As a European University we employ the British spelling Programme (not program)

What started out as something the translators "decided in their own little heads", the adoption of British spelling conventions as the standard for the Unit's translations, had by the 2010s gained authority beyond the Unit. The administrative bodies drawing these policies had decided to adopt and enforce the spelling standard as a rule for the formation of names for the degree programs in the University. What is more, they even adopted the justifications from the translators. The different agents of regulation, the *Style guide*, translation memory and the two-stage revision process, allowed the decisions the translators had made to become an institutional standard. Gradually, the translators have claimed authority through action – their local practice has become an institutional policy.

In this chapter I have demonstrated how, in the Unit, one of the meanings that the Unit assigns for translation – the standardization of the English-medium institutional voice – integrates with the other elements of the translation practice: the competences and materials that configure the practice. The roles the human and non-human actors occupy, the responsibilities they take on and the language that emerges as the result of such a configuration accrue commodifiable value. As the practice of translation in the Unit takes place in an institutionalized context – in a highly conventionalized cycle of text production in which the configuration of elements is coherent and stable – some of the meanings are able to travel to other practices of writing. The coherent organization of the practice through organization of work and the materials integrated in the practice, as well as the gradual but decisive deployment of the standard in every enactment of translation in the Unit, have created a practiced language policy that has the power to regulate the language of others beyond the immediate community. As Littau (2016, p. 90, emphasis original) observes, materiality changes "ways in which we write, read *and* translate".

Most of the earlier work on translation memory has focused on how translation management has enforced the use of the software to increase productivity by recycling translations (e.g. LeBlanc, 2013, 2017), but also noted that its use increases consistency across translations (see for example Olohan, 2021). Other studies have depicted the role of translation software by employing Pickering's (1993) idea of a "mangle of practice" or a dance of agency that alternates between resistance and accommodation as the human

and the non-human interact (Olohan, 2011; Ruokonen and Koskinen, 2017). Both Olohan (2011) and Ruokonen and Koskinen (2017, p. 311) focus on how translators experience the division of agency between themselves and the technology they use. Because of the methods chosen in these studies, they do not, however, discuss how the dance of agency is intrinsic to the technologically mediated translation practice as it most often currently occurs. Furthermore, as Olohan (2021, p. 83) notes, studies like these cannot elaborate how the motives to accord forms of agency to the machine are "constituted by the practice". In other words, they cannot inform us on how the non-human agency participates in shaping the activities performed in practices, or how their agency shapes the way language is regulated through translation (Pennycook, 2010). Drawing on my findings, I argue that the materiality of translation, and the agency awarded to non-human actors, externalize thinking and create affordances for "interbodily coordination" of individual actions, thus aligning the practical understandings of the constellation of actors that participate in translation (Steffensen and Fill, 2014, p. 18).

In the next chapter, I focus on the temporal unfolding of the translation process in the Unit. The purpose of chapter 6 is to analyze the roles and responsibilities assigned for the two translators and the language revisors who participate in translation and show how norms and ideals are negotiated during the production of translations for different genres. Furthermore, chapter 6 investigates what kind of indexes of quality become routinely introduced to the translation of different genres.

6 TRANSLATION AS THE PRODUCTION OF AN INSTITUTIONAL VOICE

In this chapter I employ the concept of language regulation to describe how the Unit's translators and language revisors create an authoritative and accessible voice for the University by styling the texts they work with. I show how, in the Unit, the translations are modified to align them with the presumed expectations of an intended audience as well as with previous instances of translation that have taken place in the Unit. By identifying and analyzing how language regulation takes place and what linguistic elements it targets, I show how translators and language revisors regulate the language of the English-medium texts through which the University communicates to its stakeholders. Through the analysis of four text trajectories (Blommaert, 2001, 2005) in two genres, I will demonstrate that most of the rewriting done in order for the English translations to come into existence occurs through a range of interventions carried out by a variety of actors.

As shown in chapter 4, in the Unit, translations are typically produced collaboratively by two translators and one language revisor, and the collaboration is characterized by an ongoing development of shared "practical understandings". The shared practical understandings develop through the usage of materials, such as the *Style guide for translators* and the CAT software, as was noted in chapters 4 and 5, but importantly also through the way the translation work is organized. The involvement of multiple actors makes visible how the language professionals negotiate over the norms of English-medium text production in the Unit, but also affords the sharing of practical understandings. Each actor has specific duties in the production of translations in the Unit, and their actions reflect the participatory roles assigned for each actor (for other studies on how translation is distributed in networks of actors, see Mossop, 2007; Buzelin, 2007; Koskinen, 2008; Mäntynen, 2012; Scocchera, 2017, 2020; LeBlanc, 2020; Schnierer, 2020; Korhonen, 2020; Feinaner and Lourens, 2020). In this chapter I investigate the following research questions:

1c. What kind of textual and linguistic elements trigger language regulation and what regulatory actions can be identified in the translation process?
2c. How are the actions and the responsibilities of the actors temporally distributed?
2d. How are the actions and responsibilities socially distributed across actors taking part in the translation process?

In the Unit, the translators work on different kinds of texts. I wanted to get a sense of how different genres affect the translation process, so I decided to include two different genres in the analysis. The studied genres – a press release and a course description (as part of a curriculum) – share some

similarities but are also markedly different from one another (see also Tesseur, 2014a). Both can be characterized as communications texts even though the press release is obviously a more prototypical example of such a text.

Press releases that are produced in an academic setting are a form of science communication which is one of the missions of universities in Finland (Universities Act 558/2009). The objective of effective science communication is typically thought to be knowledge transfer from universities to the general public, and the Universities Act (558/2009) explicitly states that "the universities shall (…) interact with the surrounding society and promote the social impact of university research findings". But science communication can also be used to advance other, more utilitarian aims. In the competitive academic context, such aims can be, for example, to promote and advance the status of the research conducted in the university, as well as to market the institution to potential students, staff and funders (for a more detailed discussion see 5.1).

In the Unit, during the early stages of my fieldwork, the press releases were to a large degree translated by one translator, Translator 2, who has a journalistic background and enjoyed the "fast pace" required of the translation of press releases. Later another translator, Translator 4, newly recruited to the Unit during my fieldwork, who had worked extensively for the Unit as a freelancer before, took on some of the press release translations. All text trajectories analyzed in this chapter were translated by Translator 4.

The function of a course description in a curriculum document, too, is to communicate about research and transfer knowledge, but the demographic it aims to reach is more focused, since the text targets students already enrolled in the University or aspiring to do so in the future. At the minimum, the audience can be expected to be familiar with some of the field-specific terminology and lexicon used in a higher education context. The fact that the audience is highly focused creates affordances for language use not available in the press release, which targets a wider population. The students as an anticipated audience can be expected to share some of the technical language incorporated in the descriptions, or at least be willing to accept that the unfamiliar terminology is part of what they will learn during the course. In addition, the realization is much more formulaic. The content of the curricula is centrally controlled, at least to a degree. The content and the narrative in the press release, however, is much less regulated through Unit-external, centralized management. Still, the course description can also display some of the same marketing functions as the press release – at least to the extent that the genre can be used to market the courses and the teaching of the institution of higher education to potential students (especially abroad).

The text trajectory data consists of four translated texts that all contain three[20] versions:

[20] I also compare the 'in-progress' versions to the published translation (fourth version) at relevant points.

- a translation into English of a Finnish language text
- a version of the translation bilingually revised by another in-house translator
- a monolingual revised version (produced by an in-house language revisor).

The data contain two press releases (popular articles on research conducted in the University) from two different fields (medicine and archaeology) and two course descriptions from degree program curriculum documents from two different disciplines (bachelor's program in economics and master's program in social sciences). The four texts are roughly of the same length determined by the number of translated segments which range from 24 to 36. In total, there are 121 translation segments in the data (on determining what a translation segment is, see 4.2.2).

With comparative textual analysis, I demonstrate how some of the functions described above manifest in the translations. I will show how the actors participating in translation style the translations in ways that "become meaningful under specific conditions of use" (Mortensen et al., 2017; Mäntynen, 2012 also employs the notion of style to characterize the changes introduced to translations). I will argue that the translator as well as the bilingual and monolingual revisors partaking in the translation process engage in styling the linguistic realization according to what they perceive as the appropriate linguistic manifestation of the genre. Mortensen et al. (2017, p. 6) argue that style is "a distinctive quality of social context itself" and that "any configuration of social action", such as the one in which the Unit's translators operate, can "constitute a distinctive style". The genre of the text to be translated further narrows the possibility of alternative linguistic realizations, making some forms of styled institutional voice more likely than others. Genres are a form of purposeful social action that is commonly recognized as such in a given domain (Swales 1990), meaning that in order to be recognized as a realization of a genre, the text also needs to display features typical of that genre. As these typical features can vary across different contexts for writing (cultures, geographic locations and degrees of institutionalization), some of the interventions introduced can be seen as attempts to align the linguistic realization of the genre with the "particular styles (…) normatively associated with particular genres", i.e. to the presupposed expectations of the intended audience of the translation (Mortensen et al., 2017, p. 6). Blommaert (2006, p. 514) argues that genred linguistic form is "a crucial contextualization device" linked to the construction of identities and roles, the ways in which we organize information as well as epistemic and affective modes. As such, genres can operate as "orienting frameworks, interpretative procedures, and sets of expectations" (Hanks, 1987, p. 670). According to Blommaert (2006, p. 514), the many layers of meaning built into a genre operate on "a complex of organized indexicalities triggering socioculturally presupposable framings".

Since the intended audience for the translations produced in the Unit differs from the audience of the original Finnish text, it is reasonable to

presume that, as part of the translation process that transforms the text into another language, the translator will inevitably introduce some changes into the text to align the translation with the presupposed expectations of their audience. Traditionally, in translation studies, these changes are called shifts (Munday, 2016). Drawing on Vinay and Darbelnet (1995, as well as Catford), Munday (2016) explains shifts as all types of changes that occur in translations. Similarly Koskinen (2008, p. 121) defines translation shifts as including changes that are not only linguistic, but also structural, textual, semantic, stylistic, ideological and functional. This definition, however, creates certain challenges for the analysis since nearly everything the translators do to a text could potentially be characterized as a shift. To steer clear of complex taxonomies, I will focus my analysis on those shifts that appear typical of translation in this particular setting, for these specific actors and in these two genres. My focus is similar to that of Koskinen (2008, p. 121) who also adopted a more holistic approach to investigate "not only the manifest linguistic expression of shifts but also their social causes and effects". On the one hand, this means that my analysis looks more closely at those linguistic (and orthographic) interventions that seem common, i.e. that occur repeatedly. On the other hand, the analysis also draws on what I know about translation in the Unit on the basis of interview and observation data. In other words, the analysis also takes into account what I know about the *way things are done* in the Unit, and how the Unit's translators' and language revisors' "practical understandings" are used to guide the introduction of changes into the texts they produce in English.

I will also argue that the Unit's production process of the translations in general, and of these genres in particular, reserve certain predefined roles for actors participating in the process in the Unit. However, as I will later show, there are also situationally negotiated roles and responsibilities for the actors taking part in the process. Furthermore, these roles and responsibilities can be traced through an analysis of the micro-level linguistic detail by identifying interventions that occur at different stages of the translation process. Most of the research carried out on translation revision focuses on the distribution of roles or expectations actors have for each other in the translation process, but does not address how these become observable on the textual level (see, however, e.g. Buzelin, 2007; Koskinen, 2008; Mäntynen, 2012; Feinaner and Lourens, 2020). In the analysis I discuss how each of the three participants, the first translator, the bilingual revisor and the language revisor (the monolingual revisor) participate in the translation process. The analysis covers the aspects into which the actors intervene (i.e. the triggers of language regulation) and the frequencies with which the interventions occur in each phase and also what kinds of roles, construed through action or discursively, are assigned to and taken on by the different actors taking part in the process.

In the rest of the sections in this chapter, I will refrain from using the concept of shifts (Munday, 2016) and instead conceptualize the changes introduced to English translations as interventions targeting specific signature

features characteristic of translation in the Unit. In essence this means that, instead of looking at all kinds of changes that occur during translation, I fix my gaze into those changes that highlight unique features of translation in the Unit. The analysis of interventions makes visible how the language professionals introduce into the translations their own locally developed and collectively negotiated repertoire that is modified[21] according to genre. Using the concept of language regulation also enables me to keep my own terminology constant throughout the thesis and eventually compare and discuss the different forms that language regulation takes in the practices of translation and authors' editing. Moreover, the concept of shifts, as opposed to language regulation, does not carry the same sense of patterned, repeated and purposeful action I understand as characteristic of translation in the Unit. Aligning myself with Mortensen et al. (2017, p. 10), I understand the actions through which translations are styled as "strategic deployments" of semiotic resources. Describing the introduced changes as shifts highlights a product orientation in the analysis, while conceptualizing them as language regulation places the focus on the actors, their actions and on the translation process that in the Unit is defined by norm negotiation that becomes discursively available through the text trajectory analysis (and to some degree in interview data).

In the analysis that follows, I set out to investigate how roles and responsibilities over the styling of the institutional voice are distributed across different actors during the course of the translation of the two genres. In addition, I analyze how these responsibilities manifest linguistically in the translations. In my conceptualization of voice, I align myself with Blommaert (2005, p. 4–5) who sees voice as means to make themselves understood to others, as the ability to draw on discursive means in context-sensitive ways. He claims "[a]n analysis of voice is an analysis of power effects – (not) being understood in terms of the set of sociocultural rules and norms specified – as well as of conditions for power – what it takes to make oneself understood". In addition, I look at what triggers language regulation, i.e. what are the local and contextual social causes due to which language in the translations is purposefully being styled.

6.1 THE FIRST TRANSLATOR

The first translator is the one who begins the translation process. According to my fieldwork data, the translator typically works through the document one segment at a time. In the Unit, after finishing the first version, the first translator sends it to the second translator. This section focuses on those

[21] As discussed in chapter 5, the maintenance of the standard is carried out through tools, such as the translation memory, but its use in the production of genres will not be covered here because of methodological choices (the analysis focuses on text trajectories and talk around text production instead of observations).

linguistic features that the first translator introduces to press releases and course descriptions that could be characterized as typical of the types of styling these genres go through in the Unit. The analysis of the first translator's contribution is divided into three subsections that reflect the three triggers of interventions I was able to identify from the data: semantics, communicability and intertextuality. The triggers of regulation have been quantified but function of the quantification is not to present a statistical analysis, but rather to show how frequent the linguistic phenomena were in the data. As such the analysis can be described as exploratory, it marks an attempt to demonstrate how translation could be studied as containing forms of language regulation. Later sections focus on the contributions of the bilingual revisor (the second translator, 6.2) and the monolingual revisor (the language revisor, 6.3). The first translator is ultimately responsible for the translation and does most of the work in styling the translation. The uneven distribution of responsibilities is reflected in the space allocated for the analysis of the interventions introduced during each translation phase – the interventions introduced by the first translator receive more attention as they serve as a backdrop for the subsequent actors' contributions.

6.1.1 SEMANTICS

The most common change I could identify by analyzing the original Finnish language texts and the translated texts were different kinds of interventions into the semantics of either individual words or entire phrases. Such interventions occurred in over 60% of all translation segments[22] (73 out of 121) and the total number of such interventions was 215 (more than one could occur in one translation segment). The difference between the two genres was stark. Semantic interventions occurred 168 times and in 78% of the translated segments in press releases, while in the course descriptions they occurred 47 times and in only 39% of the segments.

Most commonly, interventions into semantics at the level of individual lexemes introduced either fixed conceptual metaphors/commonly collocating lexemes or introduced a change in register compared to what would have been a literal translation of the lexemes that occurred in the original. In the examples, the interventions are marked in **bold** and the literal translation is offered inside parentheses (literal translation).

Example 1.

Metaphor Press release

Finnish: Arjesta **selviämiseen** tarvitaan monenlaista apua (In order to **survive** everyday routines, one needs many kinds of help)

[22] A string of text that starts with a capital letter and ends in a punctuation mark indicating a sentence or clause boundary. In addition, headings typically form one translation segment.

English: The **management** of everyday routines requires help in many shapes
Course description
Finnish: Opiskelija **harjaantuu** ongelmalähtöiseen yhteisölliseen projektityöskentelyyn (The student **is in the process of becoming trained** in problem based communal project work)
English: Students will **become proficient** in problem based communal project work

Collocation Press release
Finnish: Hälytysmerkit **alkoivat** kesäkuussa (Warning signs **began** in June)
English: Warning signs **were seen first** in June
Course description
Finnish: Opintojakson **järjestämisajankohta** (**point in time when** course is **organized**)
English: **when** the course **will be offered**

Register Press release
Finnish: Eteen tuli myös **asunnon** vaihto (Be faced with a change in **apartment**)
English: Change of **residence** also became topical
Course description
Finnish: kynällä ja paperilla **tehtäviä** harjoituksia (exercises **done** with pen and paper)
English: exercises **completed** with pen and paper

Interventions into metaphors and collocation were difficult to distinguish from one another and have been grouped together in the quantification of occurrences. Interventions into metaphors and collocation seem to form a continuum in which the more radical departures from the source text are often interventions that could be characterized as metaphorical and the more subtle interventions are interventions most likely triggered by collocation. For example, some of the interventions make use of metonymic sense relations (Fin: he **kokevat** usein (they often **experience**) – Eng: they often **feel**) which to me suggests that the intervention was triggered by collocation and not by unconventional use of metaphors.

Many of the interventions into metaphors and collocation are changes that target verb phrases. At least partly these are caused by subtle changes in positioning, especially in reporting verbs, such as *kertoa (tell)* that transforms into *say*, or *osoittaa (to demonstrate)* which the translator changed into *prove* (press release on medicine). These transformations demonstrate a subtle change that "discretely" and "covertly" guides the reader's interpretations (Hyland, 2005). As such, some of the interventions into semantics also seem to cover interactive metadiscurse functions (more on metadiscourse in section 6.1.2).

The overall trend is that the first translator introduced a greater number of interventions into semantics during the first phase of translating the press releases. The difference in distributions seem reasonable when the two genres are compared to one another. The curricula are full of terminology and jargon which means the register is already quite high (most often, the interventions introduced lexemes of a higher register). This was reflected in the number of interventions into register in course descriptions. I was only able to identify one such case while in the press releases Translator 4 introduced interventions into register 25 times. The curricula also employ language that is stylistically monotonous and emotionally neutral. The press releases, on the other hand, try to evoke emotions, which might trigger the interventions into metaphors/collocation. While many interventions into metaphors substitute a conventionally employed Finnish metaphor with another conventional English metaphor, some of the translations of conventional Finnish metaphors can also lose some of the emotional triggers and employ a more neutral tone (e.g. *selviäminen – management*, in Example 1). In the interviews I conducted with the translators and during fieldwork, the translators often talked about how translating a press release differs from the translations they do for administration. Below is an extract from my interview with one of the Unit's in-house translators, Translator 2, who does most of the press release translations.

Extract 19.

Tra2	I try to make it as idiomatic as possible so that it . I try to do it so that it looks like it had been written in English that an English speaker had written it . ehm , I feel like this is an ok strategy particularly in these lighter , journalistic texts
	[…]
Tra2	that it has the same journalistic virtues as the original has that its like , rhythm and structure and the like , that it draws you in and , if it has humor or word play then I try to add those in as well so that..
HMP	right , I see , yeah . so it's about the typicality of the genre..
Tra2	yes , yeah
HMP	that comes to guide it
Tra2	absolutely that . then if when there are some registration instructions for students then it definitely does not need any idioms so..
HMP	yes , yes , right . so that in a way the text can be even a bit entertaining on a different level..
Tra2	yes
HMP	so that you can dive into it maybe , dwell deep and it doesn't have to even open up to you right..
Tra2	yeah
HMP	and then there are texts that , need to @@ open . that it can't , the person can't be left wondering how does this work then
Tra2	yes exactly that , precisely so . and I do , if I have instructive administrative texts , that have been aimed for the students , in

> those I try to focus precisely on the sort of thing that , since these , our students come from so many places and they have so many kinds of backgrounds but , another reason why I like the communications translations is that then you can . have fun and be creative

Translator 2 construes press releases not only as informative texts but as texts that are meant to be engaging for the reader. On the basis of the textual analysis, interventions into semantics, and especially those triggered by metaphors/collocation, seem likely candidates for how reader-engagement is incorporated into the text.

Other types of interventions into semantics included e.g. amplification and economy (the translation is longer or shorter than the original), abstraction, synonymization, gain and loss (the translated lexeme captures more semantic domains than the original and vice versa)[23]. Most of the other types of interventions into semantics were also typically introduced into press releases.

Previous research has suggested that translation often results in longer texts (Chesterman, 2004; Vinay and Darbelnet, 1995). In the Unit's translations a similar trend can be observed. While some of the semantic interventions might provide part of the explanation, for example amplification being more frequent than economy in the translations, there are alternative explanations, as well. One reason might lie in the need to not only conventionalize the semantic manifestation of lexemes and phrases, but also the need to explicate the referents the translator assumes might be foreign, and thus difficult to comprehend for the potential reader (Klaudy, 1996; Øverås, 1998). Interventions that target communicability and in particular how reference is incorporated into translations are the topic of the following section.

6.1.2 COMMUNICABILITY

In the comparative textual analysis, I identified Translator 4 making more notable departures from the Finnish language text in situations where the meanings made in the original text needed to be catered to the target text audience by modifying them (for similar findings, translators introducing more *readability*, see Koskinen, 2008). In line with the analysis I will present in chapter 7, I call these interventions into communicability. These interventions target cohesive ties and metadiscoursive devices in ways that I explicate below. Typically, the interventions into communicability introduced *more* cohesive and metadiscursive devices into the translated texts, but some interventions also removed elements that had appeared in the original from

[23] In categorizing interventions into semantics, I have used parts of the taxonomy developed by Vinay and Darbelnet (1995).

the translated segments. In my analysis of interventions into communicability, I draw on Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Hyland (2005).

I distinguish between cohesive devices (Halliday and Hasan, 1976) and Hyland's (2005) categorization of metadiscursivity to describe the different kinds of interventions affecting the way communicability is incorporated into the text. Translation studies frequently uses the Hallidayan systemic functional model to analyze discourse features and their function in translation (Munday, 2016), but in my opinion, the study of translation could benefit from employing other models too, especially ones that draw on the understanding of writing as a social practice. Understanding translation as a specific, situated and locally appropriated form of writing, as well as adopting terminology widely used in other fields that study academic writing, would make it easier to compare different kinds of writing for international audiences against one another. In fact, in her ethnography of EU translation, Koskinen (2008, p. 132) notes that the shifts in explicitation that often characterize translation might be a feature of the cognitive processes of actors that engage in forms of revising and rewriting in general. Therefore, I think Hyland's model of metadiscourse could be useful for the analysis of translation. Hyland (2005) argues that both cohesion and metadiscourse are ways through which the writer can influence the overall coherence and intelligibility of the text. Translators, as all writers, are concerned with the effects the text has on the reader. According to Hyland (2005, p. 4) "[m]etadiscourse is one of the main aims through which this is accomplished".

Furthermore, I justify analyzing interventions into semantics and communicability (as well as the interventions into intertextuality presented in section 6.1.3) as distinct phenomena because the Unit's translators construe them as such and evaluate the need for these kinds of interventions differently depending on the genre they are translating. In an interview, the Unit's Senior translator describes the challenges they face in translating administrative texts.

Extract 20.

HMP	are they like , is it evident in the translation that it's meant for students or that the end user is a student , compared to it being for a researcher or someone else in the administration or like , that?
SenTra	well yes and it's precisely what is the problem at times when the administrators , they write to each other , and there is a lot of information between the lines , that we need to dig up . and then , we need to take into account that , if we're talking about the university staff that we translate , to non-Finns , that do not have the same , between-the-lines info nor , the cultural knowledge always either , and those have to be opened up for them
HMP	I see . and it's..
SenTra	yes . and students , of course this applies to students as well . that's why translations are always longer than the originals

Even though the Senior Translator was describing the translation of administrative texts, on the basis of the textual analysis, similar "digging" and "opening up" processes are at play also in the translation of press releases and course descriptions produced in the Unit. In the Unit, part of the translators' task appears to be to rewrite texts as they translate so that the English-speaking audience can be expected to make sense of the meaning without the same cultural or world knowledge as the audience of the original text. Based on my analysis, the primary linguistic features this kind of rewriting targets are interventions that either introduce or omit cohesive and metadiscursive devices in the text.

Translator 4 introduces a range of interventions that affect the communicability of the translated texts. A majority of these interventions explicate the meaning of phrases, lexemes or their relation to one another, and they do this by adding linguistic elements, that do not appear in the Finnish language text, into the translation. As interventions into cohesion, Translator 4, for example, introduced additional anaphoric expressions (olemme [luonnehdinta], koska tuen tarve on jatkuva – we are [characterization], since **our** need for support is constant). Translator 4 also introduced lexical repetition which I exemplify below.

Example 2.
Fin: Tyttären sairaus on **muuttanut** monia asioita […] se on muun muassa merkinnyt työpaikan vaihtoa
Eng: The disease of their daughter has **changed** many things […] one of these **changes** is changing employers

There are also interventions into cohesion that make the translation less explicit than the original: omission of anaphoric reference, substitution (explicit reference in original is substituted with another referent) and ellipsis (lexical/phrasal omission). Overall, the interventions that omitted cohesive devices were rare and it was more typical for the translator to introduce additional elements into the text.

Translator 4 also introduced interventions that targeted the way the translation metadiscursively guided the uptake of the anticipated audience. In Hyland's (2005, p. 28) words, metadiscourse "represents the writer's or speaker's overt attempt to create a particular pragmatic or discoursal effect". These functions were especially pronounced in the use of two metadiscursive devices identified by Hyland (2005), both of which Translator 4 only introduced into press releases: the code gloss and the comparison mark.

Both code glosses and comparison marks are linguistic devices Hyland (2005) calls interactive metadiscourse. According to Hyland (2005), interactive metadiscourse is a "discrete" way to covertly guide the reader's interpretation of the text. Below I exemplify both of the metadiscursive devices I identified in the analysis.

Example 3.

Code gloss
Fin:– Kelan näkökulmasta
Eng: "From the perspective of Kela, **the Social Insurance Institution of Finland**,
Comparison mark
Fin: [Alueella] se nähdään olennaisena osana […]
Eng: In [area], **however**, it is seen as an integral part of […].

As can be seen in the example on code gloss, the inserted linguistic elements "supply additional information" which the translator provides "to ensure the reader is able to recover the writer's intended meaning" (Hyland, 2005, p. 52), i.e. to make the text more accessible for the non-Finnish speaking audience. Hyland (2005, p. 52) argues that code glosses bring to the forefront the writer's, and in this case the translator's, "predictions of the reader's knowledge base", i.e. the knowledge the (re)writer presumes the reader has about the propositional content. On the basis of the example, for instance, Translator 4 presumes that the reader might not be familiar with the acronym Kela (Kansaneläkelaitos). Comparison marks, according to Hyland (2005, p. 50), are part of transition markers that consist mainly of "conjunctions and adverbial phrases which help readers interpret pragmatic connections between steps in an argument". In the example sentence above, Translator 4 wanted to highlight how the people living in one particular area hold differing views of the phenomenon the article was discussing compared to the rest of the country.

Curiously, Translator 4 seemed to introduce only certain kinds of metadiscursive devices. Drawing on Thompson,[24] Hyland (2005) makes a distinction between interactive and interactional metadiscourse to show that, at times, writers might want to explicitly engage with their readers. This can mean, for example, that the writer decides to address the reader, employs speech acts, such as *I will now demonstrate* or hedges and boosters to underline their own involvement in the meaning making. These kinds of interventions were notably absent from the text trajectories.

It seems that some of the metadiscursive devices can be used by both writers and rewriters, i.e. translators, but some seem to be reserved more markedly to the former. This could be caused by the differences in the roles writers and translators can occupy in the Unit. The translators are invisible actors in the production of multilingualism as they mediate meanings made by others but do not explicitly draw attention to their mediation. They adhere to a norm that allows them to make inferences that facilitate the processing of the text but does not allow them to pronouncedly add interactional metadiscoursive devices and thus engage with their own readers. The

[24] Hyland (2005) draws on Thompson and Thetela to distinguish between interactive and interactional resources in his own model.

translator's role allows them to *mediate* the interaction between the original author and the reader, but not to make their own presence known in the text. In other words, their role as a participant in the writing process does not allow them to verbalize their presence in the text the way the author can. In Goffmanian terms, the translators can occupy the position of an author responsible for selecting the words that appear in the translation, but not that of a principal projecting their own views into the text (see also the discussion on agency in translation in 5.3.2). This is because, as Koskinen (2008, p. 22) observes, institutions use "translation as a means of 'speaking' to a particular audience", i.e. it is the voice of the institution and its beliefs that the translation needs to project to the audience.

Besides the code gloss and the comparison mark, I also identified a third interactive metadiscursive device, which I could not place in Hyland's model: I named the feature grounding. It seems to fulfill similar functions as the other interactive metadiscourse features, i.e. to guide the readers understanding of the text in a covert way, but I was not able to place it in any of the categories Hyland (2005) has proposed, although code glosses share some similarities with grounding as I will exemplify below. It is possible that grounding is a phenomenon especially typical to translation, but I suspect its absence in Hyland's model is at least partly a result of methodological choices as well. In other words, grounding can become more easily detectable when many versions of the same text are being analyzed. If there is only one, typically also the final version of a text available for analysis, this feature might be difficult to trace. This is because the final version, most likely, has gone through the hands of various brokers who might have improved the accessibility of the text. In translations, however, they become observable as they make the translation more exact, concrete or explicit than the original. I will discuss grounding in more detail with the help of the following example.

Example 4.
Finnish: Sitten tuli kirje: **huomenna** [sairaalaan], molemmat [henkilöt] **mukaan**. (then arrived a letter: **tomorrow** to the [hospital], both [persons] **to come with**)
English: Then a letter arrived: **an appointment at** the [hospital], attendance by both [persons] **required**.

Of interest in the example are the two clauses following the colon which in the text seems to indicate that whatever follows describes the content of the letter mentioned in the first sentence. After the colon, the transformations the clauses go through are quite dramatic compared to many of the other interventions discussed above. The Finnish formulation is also in a directive form which in Finnish can omit the verb. Because there is no such feature in English, the translator needs to modify the meaning by grounding it through the inferences they make of the Finnish text.

The Finnish language version contains many deictic expressions. The first intervention takes place as the translator replaces the temporal deictic

expression *huomenna (tomorrow)* with *an appointment*. There is actually nothing in the text suggesting that what is being referred to is an appointment, but Translator 4 infers this from the context. In the Finnish text, *huomenna* expresses a sense of urgency and indicates that the reason these people were called to the hospital is serious.

The second clause *molemmat [henkilöt] mukaan*, mirrors the structure of the first directive clause so the translator chooses to do the same in the translation. They start with the noun phrase *attendance by both [persons]* which is followed by the passive verb form *required*. This verb form is inserted to serve the same function as the directive in the Finnish original, to reflect the dramatic nature of the content. The translation loses some of the urgency present in the original but manages to communicate the seriousness of the situation. As the same rhetorical tools were not available in the English translation, the translator had to rely on what they knew about letters sent by hospital staff. The translator grounded the translation into the concrete wordings they inferred could be found in such a letter – in other words, the translator created an instantiation of their inference about how the content could be exemplified in the text. In this respect, grounding resembles code glosses that, according to Hyland (2005) can also take the form of examples or descriptions. The difference is that there are no signs of interactive metadiscursive devices, such as *for example* or *like*, to flag the reader about the metadiscursive function. The function, however, remains the same – to illustrate something that would otherwise be difficult for the reader to grasp, because the rhetorical means to communicate the ideas would have sounded strange. I would imagine many writers need to introduce linguistic elements that ground the text, but they remain invisible as metadiscursive devices if the final text is the only thing being analyzed.

The additional interactional metadiscursive devices in translated press releases are something the Unit's translators think is necessary for the genre. In an interview Translator 4 explained why they often introduced additional linguistic elements into press releases.

Extract 21.

Tra4	and then there are these scientific press releases eh which I've interpreted to be aimed at , lay people in a way that the university wants to tell people that hey now we've made this discovery , they use jargon but they also contain these kinds of notes [selitteitä] that this blah blah , and then which means , or things like these so that they are , written out what the thing is about
HMP	but it's , it's like your , your interpretation that..
Tra4	it's in a way my interpretation yes , but it hasn't , no one has ever intervened in them that I seem to have always @@ inter- , interpreted in a way that makes sense , what the genre is about
	[…]
Tra4	but the press releases are typically quite clear , at times they might contain quite a thick level of jargon and then sometimes I feel like

> I need to explain a bit more than the text already does and then I have , at least suggested to the content checkers [bilingual revisors] that hey could we put , this here since it would help the reader a bit more

Translator 4 construes the introduction of metadiscursive devices as an essential part of the translation of press releases, and on the basis of the textual analysis, there are clear genre differences in how cohesive and metadiscursive devices are used by Translator 4. Virtually all interventions into cohesive and metadiscursive devices (in total 85) are predominantly introduced into press releases (68). The only exception are conjunctions which are just slightly more frequent in course descriptions. The press releases translated in the Unit are written as typical *news stories*, which means they also already display a large number of cohesive and metadiscursive devices in order to build coherence to the text. The cohesive and metadiscursive devices in press releases create linkages so that the text can be understood as a whole. Course descriptions, on the other hand, are a compilation of short stretches of text, sometimes even individual words, separated from each other by frequent use of headings. The short stretches of text often read like *lists* (After completing the course, students will be able to x, y, and z.) This probably explains the higher number of introduced conjunctions in course descriptions. Short texts need fewer cohesive and metadiscursive devices, and as the stretches of text are unrelated topic-wise, there is less incentive to build coherence throughout the text.

The differences between the two genres are also related to the intended audience of the texts. This was noted by Translator 4 who described the presumed differences in what can be expected of the audience of translations in general and press releases in particular in an interview.

Extract 22.

HMP has it already been taken into account in the Finnish language versions , you get that the texts will be translated , that the audience might be different , differ from , or do you have to make modifications , so that you take into account , the non-Finnish audience?

Tra4 well they do to some degree take it into account since they are the ones commissioning the translations but I don't know if they in a way , write the texts so but , they don't really since they are propositional texts [asiatekstejä] and they aim at conveying information so no , not that much usually but maybe in those texts in which they want to , at times to reach outside the university or the scientific community then in those you can think , how you would like to express it so that anyone can , understand . but otherwise if we're dealing with these , for example the web pages of a unit or faculty instructions then it's meant for students and researchers or at the minimum for those who , are interested in applying to come here

The extract suggests that the audience the translation of a press release is trying to reach is more heterogeneous than that of a course description (or that of any other information aimed at students and staff). This means that the translator does not expect the audience of the press release to possess similar degrees of shared background and context knowledge as would be reasonable to expect from the audience of a text aimed at students and staff, for example, a course description. This creates a need to introduce additional cohesive and metadiscursive devices into the translation of a press release, but not as much into a course description. As Koskinen (2008) notes, translators take on roles as *mediators* between cultures. This role appears more pronounced in the translation of press releases.

In the next section, I introduce one final trigger of interventions during the first phase of translation: intertextuality.

6.1.3 INTERTEXTUALITY

In addition to interventions into semantics and communicability, I observed Translator 4 often introducing intertextual links into the translations. In the textual analysis I identified these as interventions that targeted linguistic elements, such as links in the translated texts, concepts and orthography.
Interventions into intertextuality can draw on a range of other texts to which the translators establish linkages through the interventions they introduce. Most typically the intertextuality I observed the translators introduce drew on English-medium texts already circulating in the University. Intertextual links were often created with the help of materials, especially the CAT software and online resources, such as the University's web pages. In the textual analysis, the intertextual links drawing on the affordances created by the CAT software and online resources are difficult to distinguish, because the use of these materials is not traceable through the textual analysis alone. However, the textual analysis, too, reveals some of the ways in which intertextuality is incorporated into translations.

One way to create intertextuality across the Unit's translations was to systematize the orthography of translated texts. Interventions into orthography introduced local, Unit-internally established orthographic conventions. In total there were 30 interventions into intertextuality through orthography: 15 in both genres. Example 5 demonstrates six such interventions in one of the course descriptions.

Example 5.
Finnish: (0 = **h**ylätty, 1 = **v**älttävä, 2 = **t**yydyttävä, 3 = **h**yvä, 4 = **k**iitettävä, 5 = **e**rinomainen)
English: (0 = **F**ail, 1 = **P**assable, 2 = **S**atisfactory, 3 = **G**ood, 4 = **V**ery good, 5 = **E**xcellent)

In course descriptions, the interventions were most often related to the capitalization of lexemes as exemplified above. The *Style guide for translators*

does not explicitly take a stand on whether or not to capitalize grades, but there are two sections labelled "Capital letters" and "Itemised lists" that seem to point to the direction that this is a preferred standard in the Unit.

> Fully capitalise course, module and seminar titles; the names of departments and faculties; the names of programmes; and doctoral schools and their programmes. Fully capitalise names of projects; no quotation marks are needed: [Example Name] project. Do not capitalise academic subjects.
> […]
> Open punctuation is preferred in lists, unless the items are full sentences, then a full stop should be used. Use initial capitalisation.
>
> Each item in a list should be capitalised. Only use a colon if it does not disturb the flow of the sentence. Do not use full stops unless the item in the list is a complete sentence.

Other common interventions were to write out numbers, e.g. *1. periodi – first period*. These interventions were also in line with the *Style guide*: "Spell out numbers under ten unless they are grouped with a series or list of numbers". In course descriptions, the interventions that introduce intertextuality through orthography create systematicity and uniformity to the translations, as well as intertextual links to the other course descriptions within the same document and across other curricula documents translated in the Unit – even beyond the levels the original curricula exhibit.

Translator 4 also introduced intertextuality through orthography into the press releases, but the triggers were different orthographic conventions. Example 6 illustrates these.

Example 6.
Finnish: [Alueen nimi] luonnon puhdistamista ”[käsite 1]” kannattavat henkilöt näyttävät lähestyvän aihetta ”[käsite 2]” katseella, joka vetää rajan ”[käsite 3]” ja ”[käsite 4]” välille.
English: **‘**Those that advocate clearing [name of area] environment of **‘**[concept 1]**’** appear to perceive the subject from a **‘**[concept 2]**’** perspective, drawing a line between **‘**[concept 3]**’** and **‘**[concept 4]**’**.

The *Style guide for translators* addresses the usage of quotation marks. It instructs in their use as follows:

> Double quotation marks are preferred. […] Use double quotation marks for news articles, with the punctuation inside of the closing quotation mark.

As the double quotation marks are reserved for the speech of interviewees whose voice appears in the news articles, the punctuation mark left to convey ideational content, i.e. the concepts introduced in the text is the single quotation mark. The locally developed standard guides this intervention in its transformation from double to single quotation marks.

There is, however, more going on in Example 6 than the transformation described above. The translator also introduces the double quotation mark at

the very beginning of the sentence to indicate the content that follows was said by an interviewee. In the Finnish press release, directly reported speech is introduced through an en dash + space [– reported speech], but the Finnish convention does not distinguish the exact end point of the reported speech sequence, unless it is explicitly specified by a speech act verb and the name of the interviewee (e.g. – [reported speech], [name] says.). If the end point is not specified, this might lead to the Finnish press officers losing track of what part of the content was supposed to present directly reported speech. The matter is further complicated because the Finnish author of the press release fluctuates between direct and indirect reporting of speech. In the case of the sentence in example 6, the author of the Finnish press release seems to have unintentionally neglected to indicate the starting point of a directly reported speech segment.

The beginning of the directly reported speech segment did not go unnoticed by the translator. As can be seen from example 6, they introduce the double quotation mark conventionally used in the Unit to indicate that the following sentence is representing the words uttered by the interviewee, even though they were not indicated as such by the original author of the Finnish press release. In total the translator introduced four such interventions into the English translation of the press release. I do not know if this was something the translator notified the client about, but there was no indication of this as comments to the client in the final version. In the Finnish published press release, the en dash, however, appeared before each of the sections that did not contain it in the version sent into translation, but that the translator had signified with double quotation marks during the translation process. Thus, these interventions seem to also suggest the translators can have the power to influence not just the language of the translation, but also the original text.

Intertextuality was also maintained through the introduction of lexemes or phrases that created links to other texts in situations where the Finnish original did not exhibit such connections. I was able to identify four such cases, three in the press release on archaeology and one in the course description in the social sciences curriculum. The identification was possible because the first translator had flagged these to seek consultation from either the bilingual or the monolingual revisor (see example 7). It is possible that the translations contain more intertextual linkages, but I was not able to identify such cases because I did not observe the translation of these particular texts in real time either through participant observation or video material.[25] Based on my fieldwork, the translation memory was likely a tool frequently in use in the translation of the course descriptions as were the university's intranet pages and publicly available online course portals. Purely based on the text analysis,

[25] The video material I collected does contain parts of the translation process of the texts analyzed in this chapter. However, with the resources available for the project, I was not able to process the video data (some of the recordings contain up to eight hours of material).

it is evident that the online resources were in use in the first phase of translation, as I exemplify below.

Example 7.
Finnish: Opintojaksolle voidaan ottaa [...] opintosuunnasta ja [tieteenala]tutkimuksen maisteriohjelmasta yhteensä 8 opiskelijaa, jos opintojaksolla on tilaa.
English: Depending on availability, no more than 8 students from the [...] study track and the Master's Programme for [discipline] Research can be accepted.
Translator 4 comment: Näin [kurssisivustolla], mutta sitten: [link to external web pages containing a different English name for the programme] (This was in [online course portal], but then:)

Translator 4 seems to have used the online course portal as the primary means of checking program names but had for some reason also decided to verify the name by visiting the program's external web pages. As the two resources contained different names for the program, Translator 4 sought consultation from the bilingual revisor (whom they address in Finnish in the margin comment marked with underlining in Example 7), who, however, did not take a stand on the issue, at least not in a way that would have been recorded in the versions of the document. The language revisor did not offer suggestions either, except for introducing interventions that changed the preposition *for* into *in*. In the final version sent to the client, the formulation of the name was the one used on the external web pages.

In press releases, the intertextuality Translator 4 introduced could also establish linkages across genres. In the Finnish press release on archaeology, for example, the text described the findings presented in an English-medium academic publication. When translating the press release, Translator 4 wanted to introduce intertextuality between the publication and the translated press release by imitating how the author of the academic publication had employed concepts in their research. I cover this particular case in more detail in section 6.3.2, when I analyze the contribution of the monolingual revisor.

To draw some conclusions of the first phase of translation, it seems that the first translator's responsibility is to produce the text in English in a way that a) construes an authoritative image of the institution and engages the reader through conventionalization (interventions into semantics), b) is accessible and understandable to non-Finnish speaking, international audiences (interventions into communicability) and c) institutionalizes linguistic elements, such as concepts, links and orthography (interventions into intertextuality). If we understand these interventions in the translation process as means to improve the quality of the language, we can compare which aspects of language quality appear more pronounced in the two genres. In other words, analyzing interventions can tell us something about the ways in which translators *style* the texts they translate. Just by looking at the frequencies of interventions during the first phase, it becomes evident that

Translator 4 introduces much more styling into the press releases. Overall, the press releases are conventionalized more (interventions into semantics PR: 168 vs. CD: 47) and display more cohesive and metadiscursive devices (interventions into communicability PR: 68 vs. CD: 17). Both press releases and course descriptions go through styling to institutionalize the language and orthography, as well as to establish intertextual links to other texts in roughly equal numbers (interventions into intertextuality PR: 18 vs. CD: 16).

The functions of the two genres differ, and these differences are reflected in the way Translator 4 intervenes in the texts. The main function of the course descriptions is to give students information about the courses and to instruct them on how the courses can be completed. As such, the course descriptions have to display the qualities Translator 2 mentions in extract 19; to avoid culturally specific meanings and be as clear as possible. This might explain why Translator 4 introduced fewer interventions into semantics in the course descriptions compared to press releases. On the other hand, the press releases can employ word play and humor, the translator can be creative and use their skill set to create texts that not only inform but captivate the reader. In other words, the norms of the genre, which appear to be widely shared across the Unit's translators, seem to have a significant influence on the selected translation strategies.

6.2 BILINGUAL REVISION

Bilingual revision is a practice the Unit's translators carry out for every single translated text (for research focusing on this practice, see e.g. the edited volume by Koponen et al., 2020). It is always performed by one of the Unit's in-house translators. In these four texts the bilingual revision was done by two different translators. An analysis of this phase brings to the forefront how "practical understandings" about language quality and the norms of translation are negotiated and shared within the Unit's translator team (see also discussion in 5.2.2).

The most striking finding from my analysis of the bilingual revision process is that the second translator introduces only few interventions. In fact, a good illustration of the scope of the bilingual revisor's interventions is how many of the translated segments are not intervened in at all.

Table 2 *Interventions in bilingual revision*

Text	Segments which are intervened in (number of interventions)	Translated segments in total
Press release		
Medicine	2 (4)	31
Archaeology	10 (19)	36
Course description		
Economics	5 (9)	24
Social sciences	0 (0)	30

Table 2 shows that most of the translated segments are left intact in bilingual revision, and that only a small number of translated segments are intervened in or receive suggestions for modifications. Compared to the first translator, the bilingual revisors introduced much fewer interventions – only 32 in total (at times there were more than one intervention in one segment). In these text trajectories, it seems that the primary function of the bilingual revision was to monitor the performance of the first translator and intervene only if potential problems arise.

6.2.1 INTERVENTION STRATEGIES IN BILINGUAL REVISION

My interpretation that monitoring is the primary function of bilingual revision these trajectories was further strengthened when I analyzed what intervention strategies the bilingual revisor used to introduce interventions. Most of the interventions were introduced as comments, i.e. the second translator doing the bilingual revision introduced a suggestion in a comment without making changes directly into the text. Out of all (n=17) translated segments which were intervened in, the interventions were introduced as comments in 11 of the cases. In the examples presented in this chapter, a **bold** typeface indicates segments that were added by the bilingual revisor, a ~~strikethrough~~ illustrates a segment that has been deleted and underlining is used for segments the revisor commented upon.

Those interventions that were introduced directly to the text with Track changes typically introduced determiners or interventions into prepositions as illustrated by example 8 below (interventions by Senior translator).

Example 8.
Finnish: ne linkittyvät muistoihin [käsite]
English: they are linked with memories o~~n~~**f** [concept]

In one of the course descriptions in which the interventions were introduced directly, the changes were more substantial. In the Economics curriculum course description, the second translator (Senior translator) introduced three

interventions directly into the text that either substituted lexemes or introduced additional phrases into the translation. Below is an example of each.

Example 9.

a) Finnish: yhteiset aineopinnot (common/shared intermediate studies)
English: ~~Common~~ **Compulsory** intermediate studies[26]

b) Finnish: Lukion lyhyt matematiikka (upper secondary school + gen short mathematics)
English: basic courses ~~of~~ **in** mathematics **in the national curriculum for the genera**l **upper secondary school**

The first example of a direct intervention is related to differences in higher education terminology. The translator had translated *yhteiset opinnot* in other parts of the curriculum document (n=7) as *compulsory studies*, but on this particular occasion had opted for the literal translation *common*. It seems that the translator's focus had momentarily slipped which resulted in the introduction of an unconventional literal translation of the term. The second translator notices this and introduces the intervention without further explanation.

The second example illustrates a case where the first translator left out a crucial bit of information. The mention of *upper secondary school* was missing from the English translation. In addition, this example exemplifies how the second translator also monitors how accessible the text is for an international audience. Since the contents of upper secondary school mathematics might differ across education systems, the second translator adds *in the national curriculum for upper secondary school* to explicate that the previous knowledge required to complete the course is the contents taught in the Finnish national curriculum for upper secondary school.

Apart from the rare cases exemplified above, most of the interventions introduced by the second translator during bilingual revision were introduced as comments. Typical of these was that in over half of the translated segments there was more than one intervention in one translation segment. In example 10, the intervention was introduced as one comment, but it addressed more than one issue at the beginning of the translated sentence.

Example 10.
Finnish: Omasta puolestani haluaisin nähdä, että [adjektiivi] materiaali saataisiin dokumentoitua jollain tasolla ennen kuin se [muuttaa muotoaan].
English: "On my behalf, I would like for the [adjective] materiel[27] to be documented on some level before it [transforms].

[26] The first translator had changed the order of the information (hence the capitalization).

[27] The spelling of this concept was a conscious decision made by Translator 4. In the publication which the press release promoted, material and also matériel were key concepts. In the Finnish press release, the concept is always in the form *materiaali*, but the first translator alternated between the

Senior Translator comment: Personally, I would like to see the [adjective] materiel documented

The first intervention introduced in example 10 addresses the metadiscursive device in sentence-initial position by substituting the first translator's wording with *personally*. The second intervention suggests that the wording should be more aligned with the original, i.e. more equivalent, and that the translator could opt for the equivalent fixed metaphor *would like to see (haluaisin nähdä)* to indicate that the interviewee (i.e. the author of the academic publication) wishes for something to take place within their lifetime.

Typically, in the comments introduced by the second translator, there were linguistic elements that they found potentially problematic and offered a suggestion to improve the wording, as can be seen in example 10 above. Sometimes, however, the potential problems were identified by the first translator. These situations were often related to various kinds of problems the translator encountered during the translation of the first version. The translator first tried to solve these issues on their own and, in case they were uncertain of the appropriateness of the solution, initiated a negotiation over the formulation in a comment. One such case is exemplified below. Unfortunately, I cannot provide the original (or translated) sentence and the exact wording of the potentially problematic term which triggered the inquiry because it could not be properly anonymized.

Example 11.
Translator 4: The author has used "[coined English translation of a culturally-specific Finnish concept]" in his article(s), but to me, it doesn't feel idiomatic. Am I wrong? Not sure if my solution is better, but the Finnish means literally that the [actors] were responsible for the front in the [area], which I think translates well enough to holding it. I'm open to suggestions, as always. ☺
Senior Translator comment: I bow to your expertise

The problem that Translator 4 introduces is caused by the complex intertextual ecology of texts to which the translation is linked. The press release on archaeology was based on an academic publication that the translated text was promoting. The publication itself was written in English, but the interview with the researcher for the press release was conducted in Finnish. In the interview, the researcher uses a culturally specific concept in Finnish. In the English research publication, the researcher had coined an English expression for the concept, but the first translator found the term unidiomatic in English ("it doesn't feel idiomatic"), and after failing to find a conventional translation for the Finnish concept from dictionaries, decided to opt for a close-enough concept (*hold the front*) which they thought would be more internationally understandable. The first translator had to navigate in

two spellings in the English translation of the press release, much in the same way the author of the publication did in their manuscript: material as a modifier before a noun, and matériel as a stand-alone concept. I will elaborate this in section 6.3.2.

the pressures caused by two competing norms: whether to maintain the intertextual link to the English-medium publication or to opt for a less-specific, but internationally more widely recognized term. It is this conflict of norms that forces the first translator to seek validation from the two revisors taking part in the translation process. As can be seen from the second translator's response, the suggestion is accepted and even saluted.

It seems that the second translator's reaction to the suggested solution works as an encouragement rather than a final decision that the wording is appropriate for the translation. During fieldwork, I observed one of the in-house language revisors, Revisor 1, doing authors' editing for the translators and they noted: "if the comments are in Finnish, they are for the client. I only respond to those written in English". Because the side-comment had in fact been written in English, it is likely that the translator was directing the question to the language revisor instead of the second translator. The first translator did leave the entire correspondence for the language revisor to respond, even though they could have just as well deleted it after receiving the encouraging feedback. Revisor 1 took a stand on the matter and replied: "Your solution is definitely better Or maybe "held the frontline in [area] against [country] from…", for those who don't know the history that well". From the reactions of the two revisors, it is evident that, even though intertextual links to other relevant texts are considered important in press releases, the conventionality and accessibility of the text, i.e. the presumed needs of the audience, are considered more pressing. Thus, if conflicting normative scenarios arise, these are the norms the translators are more likely to adhere to in the translation of press releases.

On the basis of the analysis of the intervention and negotiation strategies, the second translator's responsibility seems to be, in these text trajectories, first and foremost monitoring and intervening in the equivalence of the translation as compared to the original text and its intertextual linkages in relation to other texts. In addition, the bilingual revision *shares* responsibilities with the language revisor in monitoring the appropriateness of the translation in relation to its intelligibility for the intended audience. These interpretations were further validated when I analyzed what triggered the interventions the bilingual revisor introduced into the translations.

6.2.2 TRIGGERS OF INTERVENTIONS IN BILINGUAL REVISION

I was able to identify some tendencies from the relatively small number of interventions introduced by the second translator. Some triggers for these interventions have already been touched upon in the discussion above on the distribution of intervention types. In this section, I will outline the most prevalent linguistic or textual features that trigger the second translator's interventions.

Before moving to the analysis, I should note that only extremely few interventions were introduced to the course descriptions during bilingual

revision which is why most of the examples provided below are taken from the press releases. As noted earlier, during the translation of press releases, the translators seem to be allowed to take more liberties and be more creative in styling the text. Sometimes, however, the second translator seems to think that Translator 4 might have moved a touch too far and the second translator intervenes to re-establish equivalence in relation to the original.

Example 12.
Finnish: – Luulin että […] – että [perheenjäsenen sairaus] on pahin asia, mikä [tapahtuu].[28]
Ei se ollut. (It wasn't.)
English: "I was under the false impression […] – that the worst challenge we would be dealt was [a family member's disease]".
"**I was wrong**".
Translator 3 comment: Mahtaako tämä tosiaan olla sitaatti? (Is this really a citation?)

The earlier translation segment contained a direct quote from an interviewee. The segment the second translator intervened in (in bold in example 12) revokes the earlier presumption uttered by the interviewee ("I was under the false impression" – "I was wrong".). The Finnish original did not contain the marker of reported speech [– reported speech], but as noted above, the translator had sometimes added quotation marks into the translation when they inferred that those had been accidentally left out by the author of the press release. In those cases, however, the translator could deduce the person whose voice was entextualized in the text through the context. In this case, the Finnish wording is in fact ambiguous and the formulation in itself does not explicate whether these are the words of the interviewee or the author of the press release. Because of this ambiguity, the first translator decided to treat the utterance as reported speech, added double quotation marks to indicate this and chose to revoke the presumption made in the first part of the earlier translation segment instead of the latter, as was the case in the Finnish original. The second translator does not interpret the function of the segment in a similar manner, though, and flags this through a comment questioning the citation markings made by the first translator. Even though the indirect intervention did not contain any specific suggestions on how the translation could be formulated otherwise, Translator 4 decides to take up the advice and, during their own revision, changes the formulation into *It wasn't* without quotation marks, thus making it equivalent with the original Finnish formulation.

In all there were five such interventions in the text trajectories I studied, all of which were introduced to the press releases. It seems that even though being

[28] I had to disguise the Finnish language version by rewriting parts of the example. The English version is reproduced as it was translated to the degree possible without providing too much information.

creative and moving away from the original text seems to be encouraged in the translation of press releases – at least judging by the high number of interventions introduced into this genre compared to the number introduced into the course descriptions – there are situations where the second translator intervenes in the translation to maintain equivalence among the two texts.

Another textual feature that attracted the second translators' attention and solicited their interventions was the presumed lack of cohesion or metadiscursive devices in the translations. These triggers could be identified in both genres. One such case has already been presented in example 9b in which the second translator introduces an entire phrase into the translation as a direct intervention (*in the national curriculum for the general upper secondary school*). The function of the addition is to act as a code gloss, i.e. to explicate the meaning to an international audience. There were other textual elements that triggered interventions during bilingual revision. These interventions, e.g. linked sentences through conjunction (exemplified below).

Example 13.
Finnish: Koska [valtion] joukkojen läsnäolo […] on ollut […] vaikea ja vähätelty aihe, myös [substantiivi 1] ja [substantiivi 2] kokemukset [substantiivi 3] läsnäolosta ovat jääneet syrjään.
English: The presence of troops from [nation] in […] has been a sensitive and downplayed subject […], while related experiences of the [noun 1] and the [noun 2] have been side-lined.
Senior Translator comment: Because the presence…, also the related…

In this example the second translator intervened by introducing conjunctions to create causal links between the two clauses. The first intervention is the addition of the causal conjunction *because* in sentence-initial position to indicate a link to the second clause (because of x, y happened). The second intervention, the substitution of *while* with *also*, reinforces the causality and removes the clausal connector *while* that creates ambiguity in the sentence and was introduced by the first translator. It is important to note that while the second translator's interventions do in fact target cohesive and metadiscursive devices, the interventions also re-establish equivalence between the original and translated text.

All in all, I identified 11 (PR n=7, CD n=3) cases in which the second translator intervened in either cohesion or the use of metadiscursive devices. In addition to the cohesive and metadiscursive devices already discussed, the second translator intervened in determiners (*entisten liittolaisten välille, between one-time-allies – between* ***the*** *one-time-allies*), grounding (*enimmillään* lit. at its peak, *at the height of the build-up – at the height of the****ir military*** *build-up*). To sum up, the interventions with which the second translator introduced cohesive or metadiscursive devices resembled those identified in the analysis of the first phase of translation. The difference seems to be that, while most of the interventions during the first phase increase the number of cohesive and metadiscursive devices in the translation as compared

to the original, similar interventions during the second phase can further accumulate the use of these devices or re-establish their deployment to the same level as in the original text to maintain equivalence. In her analysis of EU translation, Koskinen (2008, p. 241, emphasis original) also noted that each of the different actors participating in the drafting and translation process she studied "added readability *and* added institutionalization", which were the two norms she identified as guiding the translation process.

There is one more trigger I wish to elaborate on before moving on to discuss the role of the language revisor in the translation process. These are interventions introduced to maintain intertextuality across texts circulating in the institution. The maintenance of intertextuality at the level of lexemes was a phenomenon I could identify in both genres, although its use was rare. The translators (both the first and the second) often employed the translation memory to create intertextual links to the texts they translated (for further discussion, see Ch. 5). Despite its frequent use during my fieldwork, there was no reference to the translation memory in the studied text trajectories[29], but there were a number of occasions when the bilingual revisor introduced an indirect intervention to flag the first translator about a concept or a phrase in use in a related text available online.

Example 14.
Finnish: [toimijoiden] jäljet maisemassa
English: [actors'] footprints in the local landscape
Translator 4 comment: Too literal or OK?
Senior Translator comment: [julkaisussa] traces of [actors'] presence (in the publication)

The translator encounters difficulty in translating the word *jäljet* (*marks/imprints/traces*) which can take concrete meanings as well as metaphorical ones both in Finnish and English. In this case, the text was referring to concrete objects in the landscape, but the meaning was still metaphorical since these objects had become symbols of the presence of particular actors in the area. The play with literal and metaphorical meanings proves difficult to resolve in the translation which can be observed in the hesitation Translator 4 expresses in the accompanying comment. Again, the comment is in English, suggesting it might have been intended for the language revisor. Despite this, the second translator decided to intervene and offers a solution that employs an expression the researcher had used in the publication the press release was promoting. By suggesting the formulation already in use in the text which the translation is intertextually linked to, the second translator was able to entextualize the voice of the researcher into the translation – to use the exact words they had chosen, even though they were not uttered in the interview. The first translator adopted the suggestion and it ended up in the published translation.

[29] As comments that would explicitly address that a wording was retrieved from the memory.

It seems safe to conclude that in the text trajectories analyzed here, the role of the bilingual revisor is first and foremost to monitor how successfully the translation is able to meet the expectations set for the English translations produced in the Unit. This was also the function the two Unit's freelance translators[30] construed for bilingual revision in the interviews I conducted with them.

Extract 23.

FreeTra1 and then it [the translation] goes into the , content check [asiatarkistukseen] first , there one of my colleagues goes through it by the content or in terms of it that..

HMP you mean another translator?

FreeTra1 yes . that it doesn't contain any like , well content mistakes . then it comes back and if there's something that needs fixing then the translator fixes it and then it goes again then it goes into the language revision

From Freelance translator 1's point of view, the bilingual revision is a content check – another pair of translator eyes going through the text to make sure the content matches the original. In fact, the name the translators use of this phase in Finnish is *asiatarkistus* which could be translated into *fact check* or *content check*. In other words, the bilingual revision seems to be about verifying that the content matches the original. In other words, the bilingual revisor is partly responsible for the maintenance of equivalence in terms of content.

Based on the interviews, there seemed to be other aspects also covered in the bilingual revision. Translator 4 described the bilingual revision in the following way:

Extract 24.

Tra4 when they are revised , first they revise the translation I made the [Unit's] , Finnish-speaking translators revise the content they can say something like yeah this is ok but we usually or we say it like this . things like that and of course you try to memorize those for the next time

Translator 4 is also referring to the bilingual revision as a process of "revising content" but in addition they talk about the bilingual revision intervening into the ways in which things are expressed in the translations, not because they would be somehow wrong but because they are unconventional in the Unit. In addition, the other freelance translator I interviewed, Freelance translator 1, characterized the bilingual revision as also something that

FreeTra1 involves discussions about terms and if you haven't for example come to think about that ah there could be another alternative way

[30] During my fieldwork, Freelance translator 1 continued to work for the Unit as a freelancer, but the other freelancer I interviewed, Translator 4, was hired as an in-house translator.

> to say this [...] everyone [the freelancer's clients] has their own style and wishes about vocabulary and terms

The clearest examples of these, based on the textual analysis, are most likely the lexemes that are substituted to create intertextual links to other similar texts already in circulation in the institution, but potentially also the orthographic conventions listed in the *Style guide for translators*. This suggests that the bilingual revisor is also responsible for monitoring the uniformity of the translation in relation to other intertextually linked texts already in circulation.

As already suggested in the analysis presented above, there seems to be a distribution of responsibilities between the first translator and the second translator doing the bilingual revision (see also the edited volume by Koponen et al., 2020). There appear to be differences in what is expected from each of the participant, but it is also evident, based on the analysis of the role of the bilingual revisor, that these responsibilities sometimes overlap. The first translator carries out most of the work that is included in the production of translations in the Unit and the bilingual revisor exhibits a supporting role.

In the next section, I focus on the contributions of the third actor taking part in the translation process – the language revisor carrying out monolingual revision for the translations.

6.3 MONOLINGUAL REVISION

The language revisor carries out a second revision for the translation. Before this phase, during self-revision, the first translator has integrated the comments they have received from bilingual revision into the translation. Some of the suggestions are integrated as such, and some with modifications. In an interview, Revisor 1 told me about the revision process and how it differs from authors' editing.

Extract 25.

Rev1	the language that we use with the translators, is a um , it's our developed academic , language that we use here at the university . we have the style guide that you saw that we've done , like together . and we use, influences from administration . you know from other universities , um , and we've got that language , down so well plus with the , translation software they use..
HMP	yeah , wordfast
Rev1	you know it's a much simpler job because we're just polishing it

Monolingual revision, the revision done for translations, is construed as a more straightforward enterprise than authors' editing. However, if the frequency of interventions is compared to the number of interventions in

bilingual revision, the language revisor appears to intervene more frequently into the translations, as can be seen from Table 3.

Table 3 *Interventions in monolingual revision*

Text	Segments which were intervened in (n in bilingual revision)	Translated segments in total	Overlapping segments*	Overlapping interventions*
Press release				
Medicine	3 (2)	31	0	0
Archaeology	20 (10)	36	7	1
Course description				
Economics	3 (5)	24	1	1
Social sciences	8 (0)	30	0	0

*Interventions that address the same translation segments or the same linguistic feature that had already been intervened in by the bilingual revisor

Even though there are more segments into which the language revisor intervenes compared to bilingual revision, Table 2 shows that most of the translation segments are, again, left intact. In addition, most of the interventions introduced during monolingual revision seem to target other translated segments than those intervened in during bilingual revision. This was confirmed when I took a closer look at the segments in which the interventions introduced by the two revisors overlapped: only two were about the same linguistic or textual feature. What is more, these seemed to be cases in which either the first or the second translator had initiated a negotiation to consult the language revisor about the appropriateness of the translated segment, and to which the language revisor responded either by introducing changes into the text or offering suggestions in a comment. Based on this general overview, the two revisors seem to be targeting different linguistic or textual elements with their interventions in these text trajectories. Before looking at the actual triggers of interventions, I will briefly describe the distribution of intervention strategies in monolingual revision.

6.3.1 INTERVENTION STRATEGIES IN MONOLINGUAL REVISION

Compared to bilingual revision, the distribution of intervention strategies is the opposite in monolingual revision. In monolingual revision, the most common intervention strategy is to insert the suggested changes straight into the text. Out of the 34 translation segments the language revisor intervened in, only 5 introduced interventions through commenting. Examples 15 and 16 demonstrate how the language revisor uses comments to introduce changes.

Example 15.
Finnish: Omasta puolestani haluaisin nähdä, että [adjektiivi] materiaali saataisiin dokumentoitua jollain tasolla ennen kuin se [muuttaa muotoaan].
English: "On my behalf, I would like to see the [adjective] materiel to be documented on some level before it [transforms].
Revisor 3 comment: Where's the closing quot mark?

This intervention is, again, related to the entextualization of reported speech. In this particular incident, the first translator has inserted the double quotation mark into the beginning of the sentence, but mistakenly left out the closing quotation mark, most likely because the ending of the reported speech, as noted earlier, is not marked in any way in the Finnish press release. This detail went unobserved by the second translator as well but was remedied in the final version before it was sent to the client. The language revisor does not attempt to locate the end point of the reported speech segment to introduce the change but instead leaves the implementation to the first translator.

Example 16.
Finnish: ja yhteisöllisten ja yksilöllisten muistojen ilmentymiä.
English: as well as manifestations of **individual** ~~communal~~ and ~~individual~~ **communal** memories.
Revisor 3 comment: OR "collective"?

In example 16, the language revisor decided to switch the order of information, possibly for rhetorical effect, and thus intervened in the syntactic structure of the sentence. In addition, Revisor 3 offers another alternative for *communal* which is a literal translation, but which occurs also less frequently in collocation with the word *memories*, compared to the suggested alternative (*collective*). The example also illustrates how the translated segments the language revisor intervened in typically contained more than one intervention.

As most of the interventions were in fact directly introduced into the texts, I will discuss them further in the following section where I describe the triggers of interventions in monolingual revision.

6.3.2 TRIGGERS OF INTERVENTIONS IN MONOLINGUAL REVISION

There were some clear similarities in what triggered interventions in bilingual revision and monolingual revision. For example, interventions into cohesion and metadiscursive devices were introduced by both revisors. In monolingual revision, the interventions mostly introduced the demonstrative *the*, while in bilingual revision the interventions most often addressed the use of conjunctions. Both revisors also intervened in the translation to re-establish equivalence to the original text. Curiously, while the bilingual revisors' maintenance of equivalence was more focused on form (e.g. orthography and the addition of missing metadiscoursive devices), the efforts to maintain equivalence during monolingual revision often focused on meaning.

Example 17.
Finnish: jäänteet maisemassa ovat merkittäviä (remnants in the landscape are significant)
English: remnants littering the landscape are important
Revisor 3 comment: Maybe a bit strong? OR "scattered over"

In this example, the translator has in fact inserted a verb into a phrase that did not contain one in the original text. The first translator's choice of verb carries markedly negative connotations and is in a rather stark contrast to the rest of the sentence in which the objects are considered important. It is possible that the language revisor compared the translation to the original or, probably more likely, purely noticed the "strong" contrast to the rest of the sentence. The suggested alternative seems to point to the latter, since a stricter equivalence could have been established though the introduction of the preposition *in* instead of a verb. Regardless, the suggestion is closer to the meaning that the original attempts to convey, even when an additional verb phrase was introduced to the translation segment.

Both the bilingual revisor and the monolingual revisor also introduced interventions into intertextuality, but while the changes the bilingual revisor introduced were about establishing links to other, related texts, the intertextual links introduced by the language revisor focused on orthographic conventions, in a similar way as the first translator introduced orthographic conventions that derived from the *Style guide for translators*. There were also translated segments in which the first translator had established intertextual links to both the original Finnish text and to other relevant texts, but to which the language revisor introduced interventions that broke those links (example 18).

Example 18.
Finnish: Materiaalin kirjo [kattaa] [esimerkkejä] henkilökohtaisiin esineisiin.
English: ~~The materiel~~ **Objects** [included] [examples] personal ~~objects~~ **effects**.

In the publication which the press release promoted, *material* and also *matériel* were key concepts. In the Finnish press release, the concept is always in the form *materiaali*, and the first translator used both spellings in the English translation of the press release in a similar way the author of the publication did in their manuscript: *material* as a modifier before a noun, and *matériel* as a stand-alone concept. Immediately before this translation segment, the first translator had, for the first time, introduced the stand-alone concept in the form *materiel*, but with an accompanying comment: "Or with "é"?" The comment was written in English, meaning it was most likely directed at the language revisor. And indeed, the second translator ignored the comment to let the language revisor take up the question during their round of revision. Revisor 3's reply to the question was, "either way is correct" and

thus the spelling remained without the accented é. In the very next translation segment (example 18), the language revisor then replaces the concept completely with a much more general term *objects* that loses both the intertextual linkage to the publication and the equivalence the segment carried in relation to the original. The second intervention, the replacement of *objects* with *effects* at the end of the sentence is most likely a result of trying to avoid tautology as the former term had now already been mentioned at the beginning of the sentence.

There are also interventions into linguistic or textual elements in monolingual revision that either did not occur at all or occurred only rarely in bilingual revision. One of the major differences compared to bilingual revision was that the language revisor introduced interventions into the syntactic structure, morphology and semantics of the translation. These interventions targeted linguistic elements that did not feature in the bilingual revision phase at all. The first two were relatively rare, occurring throughout the four texts only thrice each. Sometimes they did have a notable effect on the translation. Below is an example of how a change in word class can ease the processing of an entire sentence (intervention by Revisor 1).

Example 19.
Finnish: Tavoitteena on, että opiskelija hallitsee [lista osaamistavoitteista 4 kpl]; ja omaa osan aineopintokursseille vaadittavista matemaattisista esitiedoista.
English: The objective is for students to be proficient in [list of learning outcomes 4 pcs.], as well as **to be** familiar~~ity~~ with part of the preliminary mathematical knowledge required for intermediate courses.

Here the intervention transforms a noun to an adjective with the addition of the copula *to be*. This aligns the second clause with the first one that also contains a copular verb phrase. The motivation for the intervention does not just lie in the aligning of the subsequent clause with the preceding one, but in the fact that the second clause did not contain a verb at all and as such was difficult to process. Furthermore, the English sentence was relatively long, 41 words, and the preceding list of learning outcomes in between might throw the reader off track. With the introduction of the verb phrase, the sentence also becomes more equivalent with the original that contained the verb *omata* (*to have/to possess*).

Compared to the relatively rare triggers of interventions exemplified above, the changes the language revisor introduced into semantics were notably more common. In total there were 28 such interventions. Most often the interventions into semantics introduced changes into the use of metaphors/collocation or economy (i.e. making a phrase shorter). Together these triggers of interventions comprised 16 of the interventions (metaphor/collocation 10, economy 6). Below is an example of an intervention into semantics introduced by Revisor 3.

Example 20.
Finnish: **Eteen tuli** myös asunnon vaihto (Be faced with a change in **apartment**)
English: **A c**~~C~~hange of residence also became ~~topical~~ **pressing**

In the example, the Finnish phrase *eteen tuli* is a relatively neutral expression for depicting the situation that the press release was narrating: after having found out about the quickly deteriorating serious illness of their child, a family had to find a more accessible place of residence. In the light of the events depicted, but not necessarily in terms of equivalence to the original, the choice of *topical* seems an understatement into which the language revisor intervenes by substituting it with *pressing* which highlights the dramatic nature of the story.

A final trigger of intervention in the monolingual revision phase were various kinds of correctness issues that comprised 10 of the language revisor's interventions (PR 4, CD 6). Most often these interventions targeted the use of prepositions and word order as I will exemplify below (interventions by Revisor 1).

Example 21.
Finnish: [Tieteenalan] opintosuunnan opiskelijoiden tulee suorittaa myös jakso "[kurssin nimi]" ennen tälle jaksolle osallistumista.
English: Students ~~in~~ **of** the **S**~~s~~tudy **T**~~t~~rack in [**D**~~d~~iscipline] ~~study track~~ must also complete the [Name of the course] research course [~~Name of the course in Finnish tutkimus~~] before taking this course.

The root cause for the interventions into prepositions is the difference between how Finnish and English employ the genitive. The Finnish original in example 21 contains three genitive constructions [*Tieteenala**n***], *opintosuunna**n*** and *opiskelijoide**n*** which the first translator had already modified by introducing an intervention into the syntactic structure through the preposition *in*. The preposition was replaced by *of*, most likely because the language revisor had decided to also introduce the standardized form for the name of the degree program and study tracks. The new structure moves the noun phrase *Study Track* to the beginning of the sentence. The standardized name already contains the preposition *in* by default, so the substitution of the first preposition might be purely to avoid repeating it (since another option was available). In other words, at times the interventions addressed correctness issues, but as a byproduct of attempts to maintain intertextual linkages to other curriculum-related texts.

There are some similarities and some clear differences in the distribution of intervention types across the two genres. The clearest differences lie in the notably higher numbers of interventions introduced into equivalence, semantics and cohesion/metadiscourse in press releases compared to course descriptions. Similar to the earlier two phases of translation, the overall number of interventions introduced into course descriptions is lower than the ones introduced into press releases.

6.4 COMPARISONS ACROSS THE THREE PHASES OF TRANSLATION

The analysis discussed how responsibilities over language quality production are distributed to each actor, but I want to focus on this topic in detail in this section. In Figure 7, I compare the frequencies with which the first translator, the bilingual revisor and the monolingual revisor intervene in semantics, communicability and intertextuality in press releases and course descriptions.

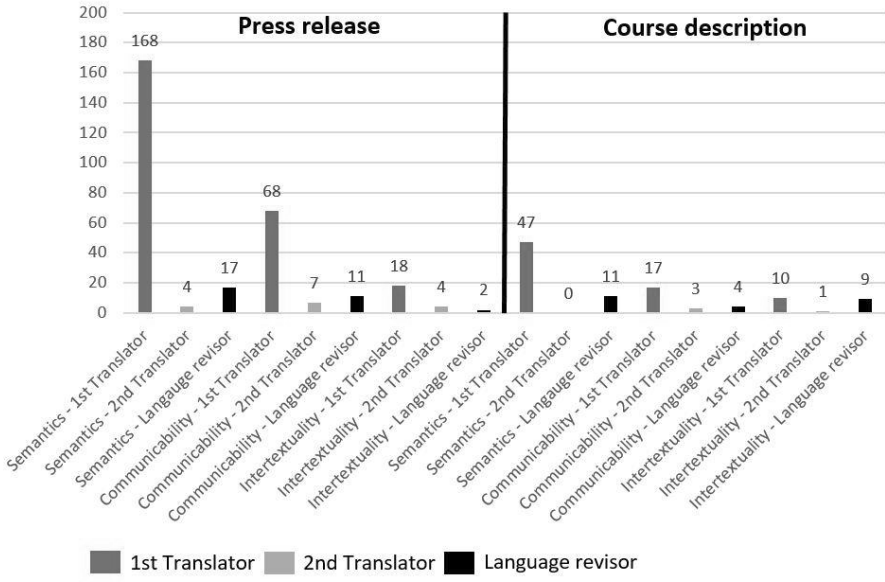


Figure 7 *Comparisons across the three phases of translation*

Figure 7 shows that most interventions are introduced by the first translator. The first translator's responsibility is to rewrite the text into another language and appropriately modify the texts as exemplified in the analysis. Genre plays a significant role in how frequently the first translator introduces interventions, and press releases as a genre seems to allow more stylistic liberties.

Both the bilingual revisor and the monolingual revisor's roles mostly monitor how well the translation manages to adhere to the different norms that are at play, and that are at times in conflict in the Unit's translations. When they encounter segments that they feel deviate too far from the norm(s), they intervene in the translation through different strategies. The frequencies with which the two revisors introduce interventions are surprisingly similar, although the language revisor introduces slightly more changes, especially into semantics. In the course descriptions, the language revisor also introduces

interventions into orthography (intertextuality) more frequently than the bilingual revisor.

The most striking difference, however, is the use of intervention strategies. The interventions the bilingual revisor introduces are most often comments that are framed as suggestions, whereas the language revisor most often introduces changes directly into the text. The small number of interventions during the revision phases indicate that both the bilingual revision and the monolingual revision offer support in the form of monitoring. This seems important since, as discussed in 4.3.1, translators talk about "getting lost" in the text which can make self-monitoring rather difficult. In the way translation is carried out in the Unit, the responsibility for monitoring is distributed to other actors who can more easily spot potential problems because they are not already familiar with the text. The support, however, is not only restricted to monitoring. The first translator also actively initiated negotiations and consulted the revisors whenever they felt uncertain about a solution they introduced to a translation problem. The requests for consultation seem to be targeted to one of the revisors taking part in the translation process (based on the language the comment is written in), but at times the two revisors' responsibilities seem to overlap since the bilingual revisor also responds to consultation requests written in English. I identified instances in which the first translator seemed to seek advice from the language revisor, but the second translator managed to solve the problem before the translation was sent to monolingual revision. In fact, this was something that also came up in the interviews. Translator 4 described the distribution of responsibilities between the bilingual and monolingual revisors in the following way:

Extract 26.

HMP	do you feel like the , distribution between the two revisors is , perfectly clear that that the content check [asiatarkistus] , only intervenes in those issues and language revision only in the language or can they sometimes go like?
Tra4	eh well yes , eh they can mix up a bit sometimes so that the content checker [asiatarkastaja] sometimes intervenes in the language if it has a kind of , clear mistake , then they can, then they mark it and the of course I change it no problem and then sometimes the language revisor also intervenes in the subject matter so yes . but for the most part , for the most part they stay on their own territories

According to Translator 4, the distribution of responsibilities across the two revisors is fairly well-defined and clear most of the time, but at times the roles can "mix". The bilingual revisor is responsible for monitoring the equivalence of the translation by comparing the translation to the original and the language revisor then monitors the linguistic appropriateness of the translation. Both intervene whenever the need for it arises, and they can also intervene in aspects typically covered by the other revisor.

It is interesting that throughout the translation process and in all three phases, the press releases go through transformations at a much higher frequency. Even though both genres share some functions, their audience and some of the functions also differ. The higher number of interventions introduced into press releases could be caused by the characteristics of the genre, that they are texts that require more styling due to the topics they cover and the audience they try to reach. The introduction of the higher number of interventions into press releases indicates that the translator feels more need to *attune* these texts to their intended audience than they do with the course descriptions. There might also be other factors at play that have more to do with prestige than with differing expectations of genre.

In an interview with one of the in-house translators, Translator 2, I asked their opinion on what they see as genres that need to be translated by a language professional and what could potentially be also translated by other actors, such as administrators and teaching staff. Translator 2 was weary about the Unit having to translate dozens of pages of background material for evaluations and seminars, because they were often done for just one member in the committee who did not know Finnish. In addition, Translator 2 said that they are not particularly enthusiastic about translating administrative texts "that no-one edits or thought about or even read, and that no-one will probably ever read @@". On the other hand, they were very specific about the press releases and the need for them to be translated in the Unit.

Extract 27.

Tra2 but then , I have come , with almost all the communications texts , to the conclusion that , it's good that they come to us . because they are also about PR , both in terms of internal communications and especially external communications , that they need to be ele- elegant and idiomatic english that it's not enough that it's barely understandable

Based on the differences that came up in the textual analysis of the two genres and the discourse through which Translator 2 construes the external communications as more prestigious, it seems that the press releases go through more interventions because the translators view them as more important to the image the University portrays to the outside world – to potential funders, evaluators, future staff and students as well as other stakeholders.

The interventions the translators and language revisors introduce are the result of deliberate manipulation or styling of the original text's indexes as the it gets translated into English. In this community, the actors taking part in translation regulate the ways in which the University communicates with English-speaking audiences and style its English-medium institutional voice. In other words, translation in the Unit creates indexical "framings" – communication that is recognizable and accessible as an instantiation of "socially and culturally ordered norms, genres, traditions and expectations"

(Blommaert, 2010, p. 33). The press releases go through more of such "framings" through the higher number of interventions the actors participating in the translation process introduce to them compared to course descriptions. The higher degree of indexical framings are introduced to semiotically transform the instance of communication to carry more widely recognizable framings – to create a "scale-jump" from the locally established indexes to cater the needs of a more widespread audience (Blommaert, 2010, p. 35). As the translators, in collaboration with the language revisors, produce translations, they create "recognizable (normative) repertoires of 'voices'" through which the University communicates to its stakeholders (Blommaert, 2010, p. 37).

The organization of work into three distinct phases that are occupied by three different actors also enables the sharing and development of practical understandings about the norms and ideals of translation in the Unit. In other words, the analysis demonstrates that the displays of normativity and stability in the production of these genres in the Unit are a collaboratively carried out "local achievement" (Mortensen et al. 2017, p. 11). These norms and ideals define what counts as appropriate manifestations of a press release and a course description, and because of the distribution of roles and responsibilities, the language professionals are not only exposed to each other's ways of working, but are also able to monitor and intervene in the production of translations when the need for it arises. The texts under translation become the "objects" of a trialogue through which the Unit's translators and language revisors interact and create an authoritative voice for the institution they work for.

Most of the earlier work on translation revision has focused on the roles these actors adopt as they participate in translation, and most of the studies have done so by conducting surveys or interviews (Scocchera, 2017, 2020; LeBlanc, 2020, Schnierer, 2020; Korhonen, 2020). While there have been studies that look at how these roles manifest as interventions at the textual level, these have been mostly research investigating literary translation (Buzelin, 2007; Mäntynen, 2012; Feinaner and Lourens, 2020). Koskinen (2008) and Tesseur (2012; 2014a), however, has also looked at translation in an institutional context, and my findings seem to share similarities with theirs. Firstly, like argued by Koskinen (2008, p. 28) "understanding institutional translation […] requires 'local explanation'", that is analyses of the translation process contextualized by an understanding of the institution in which translation takes place (local variation in translation practices was also noted by Tesseur, 2012, 2014a). These local explanations for ways of doing translation that are specific to the Unit are what I have explored with the analysis provided in this and the preceding analysis chapters. Secondly, I too understand translation as a collective process (Koskinen, 2008, p. 24, but see also Buzelin, 2007; Mäntynen, 2012). In an institutional context, the constellation of actors participating in translation remains stable across individual trajectories of translation. This enables the development of shared

understandings, as well as the coordination of actions through norm-negotiation in order to produce a systematic "institutional voice" for the institution's English-medium outreach (for similar observations, see also Tesseur, 2014a). In addition, aligning myself with Olohan (2021), I understand norm-negotiation and the local norms of translation as arising from the way translation is carried out. The particular and situational way of integrating the elements of competence, materials and meaning gives rise to the local realization of the translation practice, and with it to the local realization of language quality manifest in the translations produced in the Unit.

This chapter marks the end of my inquiry into the ways in which translation is carried out in the Unit. The following two analysis chapters are devoted to the study of authors' editing. Chapter 7 and 8 investigate how the Unit's language revisors regulate language in the English-medium manuscripts they have been called on to authors' edit.

7 AUTHORS' EDITING – THE TRIGGERS OF LANGUAGE REGULATION

This chapter focuses on the language revisors I studied and investigates how they work on texts written by (mostly) Finnish authors affiliated with the University. As discussed in chapter 2, there is still relatively little that is known about how language revisors work and how authors' editing is carried out. In chapter 4 I showed how, with the help of digital tools, it is possible to distribute responsibilities in the production of language quality temporally into distinct phases. The way the language revisors work, the tools and resources they use form routines that are designed to function as quality assurance mechanisms.

In this chapter I intend to further broaden the argument developed in chapter 4 by drawing on interview data, a seminar recording from October 2018, textual data (documents and text trajectories), and fieldwork materials. The research questions I seek answers to are:

> 1c. What kind of textual and linguistic elements trigger language regulation?
> 1d. What regulatory actions can be identified in the authors' editing process?
> 2a. What kind of roles do the language revisors construe for themselves?
> 2b. What kind of roles do the language revisors take on during text production?
> 2c. How are the roles and responsibilities distributed temporally across different phases?

In the analysis I unpack what the production of language quality means in authors' editing, i.e. the work the language revisors do for journal articles and, to a lesser extent for monographs, typically before the manuscripts are submitted to peer review. In the Unit, the language revisors also collaborate with the translators in the production of administrative and communications texts, but since this practice crucially differs from authors' editing, it was addressed separately in chapter 6.

I first analyze interview and seminar recording data as well as instructions provided in the Unit's intranet pages for clients. The seminar was titled "To flag or to correct" and was organized to discuss the different ways in which the Units in-house and freelance language revisors could introduce changes into texts. The analysis illustrates how the language revisors discursively construe indexes of quality, i.e. descriptions of what quality means for them in their work, and tensions in establishing limits to what the service can include. In the latter part of this chapter, I take a closer look at the texts and the traces the language revisors leave on them as they authors' edit manuscripts.

7.1 ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN AUTHORS' EDITING

In my first interviews with the language revisors I wanted to gain an understanding of what the revisors themselves think their work is about. I tried to elicit accounts on what the revisors think they are doing when they are authors' editing a scientific text. I also participated in a seminar organized by the local association for language professionals to discuss and share opinions on how they understand their work. In the following sections I will analyze how the Unit's language revisors talk about authors' editing and the ways in which they regulate language. After that, I move on to analyze the editing process of three texts in section 7.2.

7.1.1 MEANINGS ASSIGNED TO AUTHORS' EDITING IN THE UNIT

In the first interviews I conducted with the Unit's in-house language revisors, we talked about authors' editing, i.e. the revision done for scientific journal articles or monographs. The revisors told me that the level of editing carried out for a specific manuscript depended on a variety of things: the authors' competence in English, their own familiarity with the topic or field, how much time they could spend on the editing and their understanding of how detailed feedback their clients want. The list of things to consider seems quite extensive and at first I thought that the revisors had to do a lot of background work before they could get started with the actual revision work. This, however, often was not the case as became apparent during fieldwork. The revisors often worked with clients they had worked with before and with texts from fields they specialized in, either through their own education or by recurringly authors' editing papers in specific fields over the years. Because they had worked with many of the authors before, they had a good idea about the level of their clients' English skills or the amount of detailed feedback the authors want for the manuscript.

The interview data suggests that the work the language revisors do comprises of aspects that are relatively straightforward, but they also have to deal with issues that are not necessarily as easily fixed.

Extract 28.

Rev2	if I , get into the text and I see that oh, you know this is really, this is gonna be problematic, um . I generally , I take one and a half times as much time for that text as I would for a text that's pretty clean which , means that probably I would only go through and add , articles and prepositions or change prepositions , or maybe switch , you know , the back of the sentence around to the front . I mean it looks messy but I mean that's pretty straightforward , it's not like trying to rethink what they're trying to say
HMP	yeah yeah yeah

> Rev2 and if you sit down and you try to rethink what these people are really trying to say that, oh you know , a paragraph can take an hour . and that kind of work is extremely tiring

According to Revisor 2, there are elements in the texts the language revisors' work with that are fairly easily remedied. In addition to these easy-to-fix elements there are also aspects that could potentially prove to be extremely time-consuming and as I show later (7.3), not necessarily something that can be dealt with by the revisor alone. In one of my initial interviews with the language revisors, Revisor 3 described the growing demands on them to authors' edit more papers in a shorter amount of time. Extract 29 is from my interview notes since the revisor preferred not to be recorded:

Extract 29.

> [Rev3] claimed that "the longer I take on a paper the better it gets". Now authors' editing was becoming more industrialized and that has had an effect on how much time could be spent with a single manuscript. They said that the scarcity of time has especially affected how much [Rev3] does consultation, but it might have other implications as well. [Rev3] keeps describing authors' editing "as an industry" or "as industrial work" many times during the interview. To [Rev3] these developments have brought about challenges that are related to economic issues, such as competition from overseas (India), and the time limits to what can be done in the scope of the service.

The changes Revisor 3 describes taking place in the authors' editing "industry" are created by increasing competition, made possible by the affordances of technology and globalization. It also becomes apparent that the editing work carried out in the Unit has had to adapt to the changing circumstances. Previously, the service had a more clearly defined educational aspect to it and it included more collaboration with the authors. The revisors consulted with the authors and because of consultations, spent more time editing their papers which, according to Revisor 3, resulted in better papers. In other words, the time spent on authors' editing and the interpersonal investment the author and revisor devote in making the paper better become indicators of better quality. In fact, Revisor 3 explicitly stated so in our interview:

Extract 30.

> [Rev3] also said that consultation is "facilitation of meaning" so that [the revisor] and the client negotiate the best way to say something together. [Rev3] gave an example of a situation where they weren't sure what the client wanted to say, and when [Rev3] asked them to verbalize their intended meaning in the consultation, the client would sometimes produce a wording that would as such end up in the manuscript. So [Rev3] understood their involvement as facilitation that enables the client to say what they wanted to say so that other people are able to understand them.

In the extract Revisor 3 exemplifies a problem they might encounter in authors' editing; not being "sure what the client wanted to say". Revisor 3 construes consultation, meeting face to face with the author, as a means to coproduce meaning, something neither of the parties involved would be able to arrive at on their own. The author is ultimately responsible for the meaning they want to produce, but the language revisor aids in indicating sections in the text that are unintelligible or difficult to understand, and then helps the author to formulate a wording that is both easily understandable and linguistically appropriate. A way of talking which seemed prevalent in the Unit distinguished between aspects of quality in scholarly texts that are more clearly the language revisors' responsibility and others that rely more heavily on the author's contribution. This is a point I will return to in the next section and later in my analysis of three authors' editing text trajectories.

Earlier in the interview, Revisor 3 talked about there being "recently less need to consult". On one hand because "Finns' level of English is better than before", and on the other because the way the industry was evolving and because changes in the Unit had resulted in their ability to spend less and less time with a single text. Revisor 3 construes the historical accumulation in Finnish speakers' English skills as one reason why they do not consult with clients as much as they did. In addition, the commodification and globalization of universities create time pressures that cannot be met if the language revisors keep investing as much time on authors' editing as they did before. Although not explicitly stated at any point during my fieldwork, the language revisors appear to be worried that some of the ideals they have about the work, especially the facilitation of meaning, could be compromised because of these developments. Now, to keep up with the changing circumstances, the revisors reported having stopped doing consultations almost completely (although in rare cases they are still held as will be exemplified in chapter 8) and are redefining their role in the international academic knowledge production processes.

7.1.2 THE MAKING AND BREAKING OF BORDERS IN AUTHORS' EDITING

Redefining the language revisors' role in practice means outlining what can be done in the scope of authors' editing as it is currently understood in the Unit. One way to do this is to communicate to the clients what the work entails. On the Unit's intranet pages the details of the service are laid out as instructions for clients wishing to submit their paper for authors' editing. In the instructions, authors' editing is said to involve the correction and improving of

1) spelling and vocabulary (excluding field-specific terminology)
2) grammar
3) punctuation
4) readability and consistency

The intranet pages also explicitly state that the language revisors will not address structural problems in the papers, content issues or unclear argumentation, and will not check citations and references.

The list of features that are included in authors' editing seem clear-cut. However, some of the categories are more easily defined than others. The first three categories of editing are rather straightforward and clearly in the scope of what authors' editing is generally thought to entail. The first three items on the list make explicit the linguistic elements authors' editing focuses on. However, with the fourth category – "readability and consistency" – things get more complicated. In the intranet instructions, both the rather straightforward revisions that involve e.g. "appropriate sentence length, avoidance of wordiness and repetition" – but also aspects that require more interpretation, such as "the precision and clarity of the text, addressing of ambiguities, sentence cohesion and academic voice and style" – fall under readability and consistency. These aspects are more difficult to pin down as specific linguistic elements on which the editing would need focus. In fact, the fourth item on the list characterizes the effect that the Unit's authors' editing aims to produce, i.e. to make the text more readable or consistent. Saying the editing will "correct" or "improve" aspects such as readability or consistency, but that it does not involve content issues or unclear argumentation, is problematic because all of these cover properties of text that are closely related to the meanings the author is trying to convey but also irrevocably created through the linguistic choices. Readability and clarity are loosely defined attributes of texts that – due to that very reason – require evaluation. In other words, the evaluations in which we deem a text readable or to contain unclear argumentation are more context-dependent than our judgements on the correctness of spelling or grammar. Norms enforcing certain spelling or grammar rules are more specific, there is less room for interpretation and thus they are easier to encode and disseminate. For this reason, norms of spelling and grammar are also more widely recognized and accepted across contexts.

In the more loosely defined aspects of authors' editing, an array of contextual factors affect the evaluation of the text; is the topic already familiar to the revisor, do they know the writer, how familiar are they with the field, among other things. The contextual factors can either aid or impede the language revisor's ability to understand the meanings the author is trying to convey. Loosely defined aspects can also make it difficult to determine what causes poor readability and impede the understanding of a text.

In an interview with the Unit director, we talked about what the language revisors do while authors' editing. At first the director referred to the instructions discussed above, saying "it says there on our webpage what the service includes". However, as the discussion continued the scope of the service was construed as more difficult to define.

Extract 31.

UnitDir	that's something , we have to from time to time , discuss with the language revisors and some might be thinking about it , but not from that point of view[31] that do I have too few markings but often from the point of view that , is it [editing] going too deep into the text . what is the point in which you need to know to stop? because you can't go reproducing [pyöräyttää] the article for someone else , you cannot do the research again
Int	yes right
UniDir	even if , it doesn't follow your own logic . I do think that every language revisor thinks about that , probably always on their own and . these aren't in any way clear , easily regulated matters […]
Int	yes right . but like you said there are no general guidelines you said that every employee will evaluate the matter on their own in those situations and either corrects or leaves it without corrections
UnitDir	yes and the things that read here [on the intranet page] are quite detailed when you come to think about the things that are intervened in . and if someone goes above it , it will become evident in the feedback , quite quickly and show if it was a good or a bad idea . to go over the line . usually it's a good idea . usually people thank [the revisors] for doing extra work

In the interview it becomes evident that there are discussions in the Unit over what the service includes. These discussions have sparked some of the boundary-making the language revisors themselves construed in interviews.

Both in my interview data and in the seminars in which I participated, I repeatedly encountered different kinds of boundary-making. In the seminars, in our interviews, as well as in the ways in which they carried out work, the revisors were constantly negotiating what authors' editing in the Unit should entail. Interestingly, parts of the debate culminate in the question of what the revisors should call themselves or the profession they practice. As noted earlier, the financial pressures to publish in English and help researchers to get their papers accepted in highly ranked journals have created a need to speed up the editing process. Most of the professionals carrying out the same work the revisors do in the Unit typically call themselves *editors*. The terminological confusion was also addressed in the interview I conducted with Revisor 1.

[31] The interviewer had asked whether the language revisors ever introduced markings into a text that would not necessarily need them just to show the text had been edited. This particular interview was conducted as part of preliminary data collection for the LaRA project in 2015.

Extract 32.

HMP	um , so , what about the actual work then? you mentioned that you , really like to work with the language , and that you fell in love with editing . what do you think about the term language revision , that you're using in in the unit? is that , a good term you think , for the work you're doing or do you think like you're sometimes doing something else? how do you see that kind of..?
Rev1	well yeah , revision is an , artificial term that we've made for the unit , because for some reason we can't legally use the term editing
HMP	okay
Rev1	I have no idea, er this happened before I came
HMP	okay yeah
Rev1	er but we really are um , what we do for the researchers is , um authors' editing..
HMP	mm-hmm
Rev1	which is working with them and , er, and actually what I do with the translators , is called revision in in the , editing world

Revisor 1 says that they "can't legally use the term editing" even though the work that they do with the scholarly publications is "authors' editing" which Revisor 1 contrasts with the revision they do for the translators. The language revisors consider their work as a particular type of editing, but there are reasons, most likely having something to do with the discussions the Unit director was referring to, why the work cannot be called that.

The challenges in defining what to include in the service becomes especially pronounced when the revisors authors' edit manuscripts written by doctoral students. Many dissertations are nowadays published as a compilation of individual scholarly articles. Before submitting the text to a journal, the authors affiliated with the university I studied can use the services offered by the Unit and have their articles authors' edited by the language revisors. Eventually, in order to defend their dissertation, the candidate needs to write a summary section for their thesis on their own to demonstrate their contribution to the research field. According to Revisor 1, the summary section can also be authors' edited in the Unit *after* it has been pre-examined. Curiously, I was not able to find such a policy issued by the University. Instead, the University recommends authors' editing after the preliminary examination but also notes it is possible to have the manuscript authors' edited before preliminary examination. There is a degree of variation depending on the faculty the doctoral candidate is affiliated with, and some faculties explicitly advise against authors' editing before pre-examination. The language revisors, however, appear to be instructed on a more general level that they should only work on manuscripts that have successfully passed the preliminary examination.

In the seminar in October 2018, I observed the language revisors talking about how doctoral candidates do not always adhere to the presumed policy

and would like the revisors to help them with the summary before it goes into pre-examination. In extract 33, two of my primary participants Revisor 1 and Revisor 2 discuss the authors' editing of doctoral dissertations in the seminar.

Extract 33.

Rev2 there's an ethical issue um involved in , in my work on [doctoral candidate]'s dissertation but her English is so bad that um she didn't wanna send it to the pre-examiners before I worked on it so that they could actually read it , so um I've worked with all of her published articles so I had been working with her and , and um so the introduction the dissertation introduction is a hundred pages based on and explaining these published I don't know how to answer that question[32]

[…]

Rev1 yeah this is exactly why the whole dissertation issue is becoming so big cos , how deep do we go before it's our work eh

Rev2 but how can you give uh an introduction to it uh a dissertation to the pre-examiners if they can't read it

Rev1 but also we're doing introductions we're not doing , uh , in the nordic countries we do these article dissertations , which are also a different animal because they've published these for , articles which are definitely their work

Rev2 and I have helped with those articles too

In the extract, the language revisors construe an ethical dilemma relating to authors' editing doctoral dissertations. The extract suggests that the authors' editing done for journal articles written by the doctoral candidate might have gone deeper than instructed on the webpage to facilitate the papers being published. On the basis of the discussions I had with my participants in the field this does not appear as a significant problem in itself. What becomes problematic is when the same authors whose texts were extensively edited need to produce the summary in English on their own. In the publishing of journal articles, the language revisors' involvement does not appear to be as controlled as in the pre-examination of dissertations that is regulated at the faculty level.

The ethical dilemma arises from the fact that the production and publishing of manuscripts is, by definition, a collaborative effort in which the writer receives feedback and advice from many different literacy brokers involved in the process. Even though most of these actors are academic brokers (advisors, peer reviewers and journal editors) and thus mainly focus on regulating the scientific quality of the manuscript, there often are language revisors involved

[32] A question raised by one freelance language revisor: "at what point is our work ghostwriting or plagiarism?" The question aims to raise a discussion on how deep the editing can go and at what point the language revisors should be called upon to work on a manuscript without making an intellectual contribution to the publication.

as well and it might be difficult to distinguish between interventions targeted to improve the quality of the argument from those intervening in the quality of the language used to present that argument. It might be confusing, not to mention unfair, for everyone involved if the authors can receive support from all of the brokers when writing journal articles, but only from some of them when writing the summary of their dissertation. The extract above indicates that for some of the candidates, the language revisors' contribution has been crucial in getting their papers published in English-medium journals, and they struggle having to write the summary without this help.

In extract 33 above, Revisor 1 poses the question "how deep do we go before it's our work" which suggests that after a certain point the interventions the language revisors introduce might be considered as stepping across a line. The obvious question then is: where do the language revisors draw the line they ought not to cross? In the seminar, the revisors spent a considerable amount of time trying to identify the point after which the potentially problematic elements in texts are no longer their responsibility. I inferred that one of the aims of the seminar was in fact to negotiate the limits of the service and to share good practices to aid language revisors define and communicate the limits of the service to the clients. In extract 34 the language revisors talk about not providing services they describe as "heavier editing". Extract 34 is a passage from the very beginning of the seminar. In this extract, Revisor 1 was writing on the whiteboard, jotting down what the other seminar attendees thought were the linguistic features language revisors need to focus on when doing "light", "medium" or "heavy" editing.

Extract 34.

Rev1	yeah okay , now you're really looking at the whole document maybe even doing some , heavier editing at a heavy level , which is not usually what we do , mh
FreeRev1	well it depends on policy I mean if we're working if we're doing a (rephrasing) a dissertation for [the University] we're not supposed to do that at all
Rev1	yeah I don't
FreeRev1	you know we just have to , we can flag it and bounce it back but we cannot , like you know we're not supposed to fact check them that's their problem

In the seminar, the revisors explicitly said heavy editing "is not usually what we do" or that "we're not supposed to do that at all". Furthermore, not performing heavier editing on manuscripts was construed as a policy that should be adhered to when authors' editing dissertations. The policy seems commonly recognized by the Unit's language revisor community, but the way it is talked about, the fact that Freelance revisor 1 repeatedly uses the phrase "we're not supposed to", for example, suggests that it is not always adhered to. Drawing boundaries for the scope of authors' editing is especially pronounced

in the work revisors do for doctoral candidates, but the limits need to be determined even when editing the writing of more established researchers.

The language revisors are clearly aware that there are limits to what they can and should intervene in within the timeframe they have for doing editing, but sometimes feel the need to do more than is stated in the instructions. For example, Revisor 2 told me in the first interview that, in the Unit "we revisors cannot be editors and we have this fine line. But I break that line myself". Some members of the language revisors community feel more compelled by the policy and the pressures brought about by the increasing workload than the others:

Extract 35.

HMP	I read the kind of frameworks , what language revision consists of when someone for example sends an article to be , to go through language revision..
Rev1	mm
HMP	er do you think that's something that really fits , like that's exactly what you do or do you sometimes do , for example more or focus on some other issues that might not be listed as such in the language revision..
Rev1	yeah . well I mean I try to do that 'cause if you don't you go mad . you know
HMP	yeah yeah
Rev1	er some people , routinely go above it and some people routinely keep to that

The two revisors, 1 and 2, have a completely different take on what is feasible in the authors' editing service they offer. Revisor 1 told me that they "try to do that", referring to the aspects listed on the Unit's intranet pages, and that if they were to do more they would "go mad". Revisor 1's comment seems to suggest that there is more that could be done in authors' editing, but also that, given the resources they have – time allocated to each order, knowledge of the field, topic or author – going "deeper" than that would not be feasible. Revisor 2, on the other hand, acknowledges that there are certain things they are expected to address in the editing process and certain things are not supposed to be included in the service, but chooses to cross that line anyway: "I break that line myself".

I suggest two reasons why the two revisors perceive the restrictions on what revision should include is such different ways. The first is that the two revisors make different interpretations on whether the perceived problems in the text are caused by linguistic aspects authors' editing should cover or by something out of its scope. Because some of the aspects listed on the intranet instructions are loose and undefined, the instructions can be interpreted in different ways. It is possible that the perceived problems Revisor 1 deems to be caused by unclear argumentation (and thus should not be edited) could be interpreted as ambiguity by Revisor 2 (which should be edited), for example. On the other

hand, Revisor 2, as well as Freelance revisor 1, seem aware that the level at which they address problems in texts goes beyond what they are "supposed" to do, they "break the line".

The second reason, which is not wholly unrelated to the first one, is that Revisor 1 and Revisor 2 work with different types of texts. Revisor 1, at the time of the first interviews and fieldwork, was spending more than half of their time revising translations, a practice which I refer to as monolingual revision: "now I think I'm [doing], 50 per cent sometimes only 40 per cent of the editing". Revisor 1 noted in an interview that the work they do for the Unit's translators is "a much simpler job because we're just polishing it". Revisor 2 works part-time and does monolingual revision only on on-call days once a week, although sometimes the work they do in helping the translators spills over to the following day as well. Nonetheless, most of the time Revisor 2 does authors' editing. Revisor 2 works with fields such as "philosophy, social sciences, behavioral sciences", and although they take on new clients, Revisor 2 also has an established clientele with whom they work repeatedly and whose work they are familiar with. In addition, Revisor 2 has done research themselves in one of the fields they authors' edit. In our first interview, Revisor 2 described having, over the years, developed friendships their established clientele, and even having "published" with some of them. In extract 36 Revisor 2 elaborates on how this creates affordances for going a bit "deeper" than people with less familiarity either with the topic or the author.

Extract 36.

Rev2	but if I do understand the topic and I know something about it from my own research then I can , then I can suggest more confidently you know . because that's what I just did with the dissertation , the dissertation I just finished with , my friend's dissertation
HMP	yeah
Rev2	and so I could , I know the topic so I could step in and say , did you mean this instead
HMP	yeah
Rev2	whereas a revisor wouldn't know . you know , to suggest something like that . you cannot be confident to step in and just start people's sentences if you don't know what they're talking about . so that's the , you know . It's not very , straightforward . because I mean topics can , you can say oh , this is interesting but you , still you haven't gone into depth like the writer has , and okay you can follow them and , maybe you don't have to do a lot , but it would be you know , it would be kind of stepping across the line to start suggesting new sentences to them , in a topic that you don't know anything about . and it's hard to revise something if you don't understand it
HMP	I can imagine

Rev2 it would be like me trying to revise math . or physics or something . I mean those people don't like me to revise their stuff because I don't know what I'm doing and I feel insecure . it, you would just , and so the revision pool has people that specialize in different areas . it's much better to have a science person revise science

In this extract, Revisor 2 claims that with a manuscript from their own field, they "can suggest [changes] more confidently" and even rephrase segments of text because they "know the topic". Revisor 2 contrasts this level of intervening in text production with the typical level of editing in the Unit in which "the revisor wouldn't know (…) to suggest something like that". Revisor 2 is not only saying that language revisors unfamiliar with the topic cannot "step in and say, did you mean this instead". Revisors who are not experts in the fields they authors' edit should not make such suggestions: "it would be kind of stepping across the line to start suggesting new sentences to them, in a topic that you don't know anything about". The more "confident" suggestions are exactly what the revisors mean when they are talking about heavier editing. By boundary-making, the language revisors are construing ideologies of authority, i.e. whose responsibility it is in academic writing to formulate the ideas that comprise the paper's contribution to the research field. Parts of that responsibility can be distributed to actors with knowledge of the field, for example academic brokers, but typically this should not be part of authors' editing, unless the language revisor possesses enough knowledge of the field to "confidently" suggest the changes. For Revisor 2, going beyond what is expected of them, "breaking the line", is justified but also something they feel they are compelled to do in specific circumstances. The people who have a (long) history of working with Revisor 2, who are familiar with Revisor 2's field of expertise and have worked with them before, seek out their services, at least partly, for those exact reasons.

I argue that list on the intranet page instructions for clients defining what is included in authors' editing in the Unit – and what is excluded from it – is a type of contract the language revisors make with their clients. The contract defines the distribution of responsibilities in the production of English-medium journal articles, although it is more successful in defining some of the aspects than others. This contract obliges the language revisors to resolve certain, presumably problematic, features in the text they authors' edit but allows them leeway with others. Clients expect problems in the clearly defined features of language use, spelling, grammar, punctuation etc., to be resolved in the authors' editing process. With other features, those that require interpretation since they are not straightforwardly related to specific linguistic elements, the language revisor can decide whether they are "confident" enough to suggest more content or argumentation-related changes. The more loosely defined features of editing allow the revisors to have some leverage in deciding if they have the affordance to make bolder suggestions, or whether it would be more feasible to just "flag it and bounce it back" to the client.

In chapter 8 I take up a less typical case example of authors' editing to continue and broaden this discussion, but for the rest of this chapter I will focus on how boundaries are construed in talk and action in typical authors' editing scenarios.

7.1.3 TO FLAG OR TO CORRECT

Besides the instructions on the intranet, the language revisors also employ other means of communicating the limits of their service to clients. The revisors can either introduce changes into the text directly or comment upon a segment of text, much in the same way the two revisors do during the bilingual and monolingual revision phase in the Unit. In authors' editing, however, both types of interventions occur more frequently, and they are employed strategically not only to introduce changes but also to communicate the revisors' level of confidence in suggesting the change. Later in the chapter, I will take this as a point of departure in my analysis of textual data.

The language revisors themselves describe the two types of interventions as correcting and flagging, respectively. Burrough-Boenisch and Matarese (2013, p. 174) also note that authors' editing is not solely a 'correction service'. They argue that commenting is a regular part of authors' editing, and that language revisors often insert notes and questions in order to encourage the author to incorporate the necessary revisions. The different types of interventions serve different purposes, and flagging, in particular, seems to epitomize some of the meanings assigned for authors' editing in the Unit.

In the seminar I observed and recorded in October 2018, Revisor 1 construed different functions for flagging. In the following extract, Revisor 1 explains how a large European organization for editors has described the functions of flagging on their website:

Extract 37.

Rev1 they have , published their best practices for proofreading student texts , and it kind of helps us explain what flagging is? or these comments , flagging is comments basically , so in the in the bottom here , flagging , mostly just suggesting a course of action to the author , and we've heard a lot of these examples of commenting now and flagging , eh text is unclear you suggest an , alternative , it gives the client? a chance to decide if your , suggestion is better than theirs , um it might be something that you're not paid to do so you might comment on it so there might be something heavy that you're not being paid to do so you , say you might wanna look at the sentence closely , or a formatting issue for example if you notice that , pages three to five are in 10 er font 10 and the rest is in 14 you may wanna deal with this @@ something like that

For Revisor 1 one of the primary functions of flagging is a way to offer suggestions on how a problematic segment could be improved. If the revisors suggest an "alternative", the commenting offers them a way to leave the original phrasing intact and provide the reformulation in the margin comment in order to give "the client a chance to decide if your suggestion is better than theirs". With the flagging strategy, the revisors can frame their interventions as polite suggestions that both highlight the segment as potentially problematic and offer the author a way to resolve the problem. Flagging leaves the final decision on whether to accept the revision to the author.

Another function Revisor 1 construes for flagging is highlighting problems in the text without suggesting alternatives. This is a way of intervening in linguistic elements "that you're not being paid to do" but instead of just leaving the text as it is, they flag the segment and suggest "you might wanna look at the sentence closely". These are typically cases in which the wording the author has used is somehow unclear and the language revisor does not know how to solve the lack of clarity. By simply highlighting a potentially problematic segment, the revisors are able to respect the boundaries and not do more than what is expected of them, while still signaling to the author that the segment of text should be rephrased. The third function Revisor 1 construes for flagging is intervening in a "formatting issue". Revisor 1 gives an example where a revisor might notice variation in font size or spelling and decides to flag that to the author by suggesting "you may wanna deal with this". This type of flagging identifies the problem and offers a solution but leaves the implementation to the author.

The data show that flagging has multiple functions (see also Shaw and Voss, 2017), but the common denominator is that flagging is used when resolving the problematic linguistic elements requires contributions from the author. In other words, the revisors feel that they cannot be, at least not entirely, responsible for deciding the best course of action, and that the problems need to be negotiated with the author or brought to their attention so they can resolve the issues on their own.

The most common way of introducing changes in the text was not mentioned in the extract. These are the changes language revisors call "corrections", changes they introduce straight into the texts without any elaboration. I will focus on corrections more closely in the following section.

7.2 REGULATING THE LANGUAGE OF SCHOLARLY TEXTS

This section presents an analysis of text trajectories, i.e. compare two versions of authors' edited documents (the first and second reads) to identify forms of language regulation as well as textual and linguistic elements that trigger regulation. The documents analyzed are two research articles written by established researchers (Political science paper and Philosophy paper)

authors' edited by Revisor 3 and Revisor 2, respectively, and a doctoral thesis authors' edited by Revisor 2 (Natural sciences thesis). I demonstrate how ideologies of authorship and future audience are connected to the distribution of responsibilities across different actors, and how the roles assigned to actors become visible in the traces the language revisors leave on texts.

Based on the text analysis, I observed the language revisors use three types of intervention strategies in the authors' editing process. If the language revisors decide to intervene in the linguistic elements they perceive as problematic in the texts they work with, they can either 1) introduce changes directly into the text with the track changes function in Microsoft Word (what the language revisors called "correcting"), 2) introduce changes indirectly by commenting on a highlighted segment in the margin without introducing an intervention or 3) a combination of these (the language revisors describe the last two types as "flagging"). Below are examples of each strategy from the text trajectories. **Bold** typeface indicates segments that were added by the language revisor, a ~~strikethrough~~ illustrates a segment that was deleted and underlining is used for segments that the revisor commented upon:

1) The direct intervention strategy
A thorough understanding of [term 1] and [term 2] is a key component ~~to~~ **for** solv**ing**e these challenges.

2) The indirect intervention strategy
Furthermore, the so-called [noun] crisis of [year] provides the background ~~of~~ **for** this analysis,
Revisor 3 comment: OR "[noun]"? "So-called" implies that the term "[noun] crisis" might not be fully deserved or legitimate.

3) The combination strategy
A such "[adjective]" recognition does not recognize the object in its alterity but rather adapts it ~~in~~to the recognizer's own framework.
Revisor 2 comment: If you would prefer to keep 'into', please also consider: '…but rather fits it into the …'

As the directly introduced interventions ("corrections") entextualize interventions directly to the text without any elaboration, they evoke a sense of authority. Direct interventions introduce changes the revisors are confident to make and for which they do not see a need to initiate a negotiation with the author. Indirect intervention ("flagging"), on the other hand, is used when the revisors do not feel confident enough to suggest the changes directly into the text, i.e. the authority over appropriate wording rests, for the main part, on the author. The combination strategy (also "flagging") appears to fall somewhere in between.

In the text analysis I first counted how many sentences were intervened in and how many were left intact in the scope of the entire document during the two phases of authors' editing (the first and second reads). I will first look at how many sentences were intervened in in total, into how many sentences the

revisor introduced direct interventions (*Corrected sentences* in Table 4), how many sentences were commented upon (*Flagged sentences* in Table 4) and finally how the two phases differ in these respects. The figures for the second read in Table 4 (excluding the first two columns *Sentences in total* and *Sentences with no intervention*) cover only those sentences into which Revisor 3 had not introduced changes during the first read but did intervene in during the second read.

Table 4 *Distribution of interventions across phases in the Political science paper*

Political science paper					
	Sentences in total	Sentences with no intervention	Sentences with intervention	Corrected sentences*	Flagged sentences**
1st read	283	86	197	192	18
		30%	70%	68%	6%
2nd read	283	266	17	13	4
		94%	6%	5%	1%

* The sentences may contain more than one correction.

** Contain sentences that are only flagged as well as sentences in which flagging features along with corrections.

Table 4 shows that the majority of sentences (70%) are intervened in during the first read. It also shows that the revisor clearly misses some problematic elements in the first read since in the second read they introduce interventions into 17 sentences that were left untouched during the first round, making the number of revised sentences go up by 6% during the second read. In addition, Revisor 3 introduced many additional interventions to sentences they had already intervened in during the first read. By looking at Table 4, it is evident that most of the interventions Revisor 3 introduced are direct interventions.

Table 5 presents the distribution of interventions which Revisor 2 introduced to the Natural sciences thesis. Since the thesis is longer than the Political science paper, I selected the introduction, results, discussion and conclusion sections for analysis to make the length comparable to the other analyzed texts. Table 5 indicates that the second read for the thesis shows clear similarities to the relative number of interventions in the second read of the Political science paper. There are, however, differences during the first read in the absolute numbers of sentences that are intervened in as well as in the frequency in which the two strategies are adopted to introduce interventions.

Table 5 *Distribution of interventions across phases in the Natural sciences thesis*

Natural sciences thesis: introduction, results, discussion and conclusion sections					
	Sentences in total	Sentences with no intervention	Sentences with intervention	Corrected sentences	Flagged sentences
1st read	237	120	116	115	12
		51%	49%	49%	5%
2nd read	243	234	9	9	3
		96%	4%	4%	1%

Unlike Revisor 3, Revisor 2 introduces interventions that break a sentence into two separate sentences during the first read so that the number of sentences in total increases. The authors' editing of the thesis even contains clauses and entire sentences of metatext Revisor 2 introduced through a combination strategy. Below is an example of such an intervention.

Example 22.
These challenges include three main issues.
Revisor 2 comment: You seem to have 3 talking points on this and the next page. You can help the reader to look for these and prepare for them by using this type of metalanguage. If you prefer another way to formulate this idea, please reformulate!

The most evident difference in the two text trajectories is that in the Political science paper, Revisor 3 intervenes in two thirds of the sentences either by directly correcting them or flagging them through a comment while in the Natural sciences thesis, Revisor 2 leaves half of sentences in the studied sections untouched. The other text authors' edited by Revisor 2 exhibits a similar tendency. As shown in Table 6, in their authors' editing Revisor 2 introduces significantly fewer interventions overall.

Table 6 *Distribution of interventions across phases in the Philosophy paper*

Philosophy paper					
	Sentences in total	Sentences with no intervention	Sentences with intervention	Corrected sentences	Flagged sentences
1st read	256	187	69	64	12
		73%	27%	25%	5%
2nd read	256	241	15	11	4
		94%	6%	4%	2%

As Table 6 shows Revisor 2 introduces significantly fewer interventions overall in the Philosophy paper than in the other authors' edited texts. Curiously, even when the overall number of interventions differs significantly across papers, the relative number of flagged sentences remains roughly the same in all three text trajectories (Political science paper: 1st read 6%, 2nd read 1%; Natural sciences thesis: 1st read 5%, 2nd read 1%; Philosophy paper: 1st read 5%, 2nd read 2%). In addition to flagging, the three text trajectories also demonstrate remarkably similar intervention patterns during the second read.

Based on this analysis it seems clear that the majority of the interventions are introduced during the first read and as direct interventions, i.e. ones that are more clearly the language revisor's responsibility. In addition, the analysis indicates that the language revisors also intervene in aspects in the texts that need to be negotiated together with the author. What the analysis so far does not explain is what is going on in the text that makes the language revisor decide to intervene. What kinds of linguistic or textual elements trigger the different intervention strategies? In the remaining sections I will try to answer this question by first categorizing all interventions the two revisors introduced into selected sections (the introduction and conclusion) in the three text trajectories, and then focusing on the two flagging strategies on the level of the full text.

7.2.1 THE FIRST READ IN AUTHORS' EDITING

To identify what kinds of linguistic or textual elements trigger interventions in authors' editing, I analyzed two sections of all three authors' edited text trajectories: the introduction and the conclusion. The sections were chosen since they were approximately of the same length in all texts and typically contain the author's own phrasing instead of quotations from either academic literature or data. I first categorized each intervention introduced into the text and proceeded by establishing common and distinguishing features among the interventions. After grouping the interventions according to their similarity to one another, I formed more abstract categories that are discussed below.

In my analysis, the interventions carried out in authors' editing are divided into three categories: interventions into correctness, interventions into conventionality and interventions into communicability. This categorization reflects my own understanding of what triggers the interventions introduced by the language revisors as part of the service they provide. The categorization differs from the instructions offered in the Unit's intranet pages (see above). As the instructions leave room for interpretation, the aim here is to develop a categorization inductively and on the basis of empirical data.

I arrived at the categorization after first identifying interventions from the field notes I had taken. During fieldwork I noticed that the interventions the language revisors introduced into texts could be grouped into categories on the basis of what norms the revisors seemed to be drawing on. In one category were the interventions that reflected the commonly held understanding of

what written English should be like; the language should be grammatically accurate (according to British or American English standards) and it should not contain any typos. I labelled this category of language quality "correctness". Problems with correctness were typically easily identified by the revisors and intervened in directly in the texts. Moreover, these kinds of interventions were rarely negotiated with the author.

There were, however, other kinds of interventions that seemed to be operating according to a different kind of rationale. I observed the language revisors introducing interventions into linguistic elements that could not be characterized as relating to correctness. Rather, these were changes that I identified as efforts to make the text sound "formal" and "scientific", in other words to display qualities typically associated with disciplinary genres. What is deemed academic writing varies significantly across disciplines and these differences were reflected in the interventions the language revisors introduced to the texts. I observed situations in which the language revisors found an expression somehow strange and introduced an intervention to make the formulation resemble an established, common way of saying things. This category includes interventions into collocation, punctuation, orthography, as well as wordiness.[33] These interventions seemed to be drawing on the ideals of the academic genres and norms of the relevant academic discourse communities, which is why I labeled this category conventionality. The interventions were triggered because the language revisors interpreted the linguistic elements as not adhering to the presumed norms of the genre in the field the manuscripts targeted.

I also observed language revisors intervening in elements in the text that were related to understandability. The suggestions the revisors introduced often drew on stretches of text that had occurred elsewhere in the text. Making these kinds of interventions required interpretation of the author's intended meaning, on the one hand trying to understand what the author wanted to convey, and on the other determining what additional information the reader might need to easily understand the text. These features included cohesion, metadiscourse, text-external reference and sentence length. The linguistic elements that were intervened in did not need be grammatically incorrect or unconventional for the target-genre or discipline. What was emblematic in these interventions was that the original wordings the author had used needed "facilitation" to become more understandable. This category was thus labeled communicability.

In this section I present the findings of my analysis of the first read of authors' editing. I analyzed all sentences (182 in total) in the texts'

[33] During fieldwork, I also observed the language revisors intervene in register which I categorized under conventionality, but since no such interventions were found in the analyzed text trajectories, register is not included in the discussion.

introductory[34] and concluding sections and identified what aspects of language quality the changes targeted (192 interventions in total: Natural sciences thesis 73, Political science paper 85, Philosophy paper 34). In the following sections, I will present and exemplify the primary categories of correctness, conventionality and communicability and their subcategories. Figure 8 depicts the three categories and the linguistic or textual features these categories comprise of.

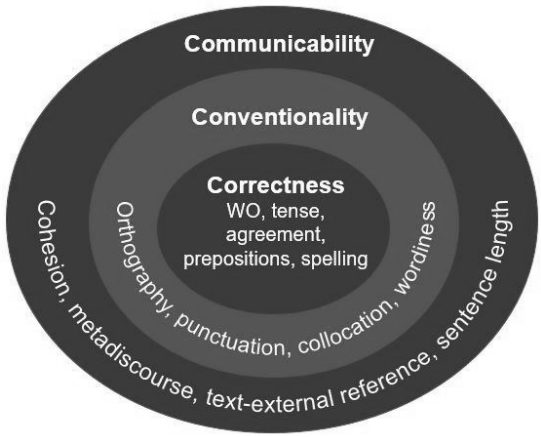


Figure 8 *Aspects of quality in authors' editing*[35]

Correctness

The first category is correctness. The subcategories of correctness are word order, tense, agreement, prepositions and spelling. These are changes that are typically made as corrections in the data, i.e. they are inserted into the text using the track changes function in Microsoft Word. Interventions into correctness can be described as changes introduced by the language revisors that are triggered by the immediate lexical or clausal context and which typically draw on norms codified in grammars and dictionaries.

In the first phase of the authors' editing 22% (23% in the Political science paper, 30% in the Natural sciences thesis and 12% in the Philosophy paper) of all the changes made were interventions into correctness. The distribution of interventions into the subcategories of correctness out of all interventions introduced to the manuscript during the first read was:

[34] The Philosophy paper did not feature a section labeled or functioning like a typical introduction. Due to this, I included a roughly equal number of sentences from the beginning of the text as in the other two text trajectories' introductory sections.

[35] Figure 8 has been presented in language professionals' seminars and professional conferences. The feedback from language professionals has been favorable and suggests the categorization reflects their own understanding of the aspects authors' editing covers.

- Word order: 4% Political science paper, 4% Natural sciences thesis, 0% Philosophy paper
- Tense: 4% Political science paper, 5% Natural sciences thesis, 3% Philosophy paper
- Agreement: 1% Political science paper, 3% Natural sciences thesis,0% Philosophy paper
- Prepositions: 14% Political science paper 18%, Natural sciences thesis, 3% Philosophy paper
- Spelling: 0% Political science paper, 0% Natural sciences thesis, 6% Philosophy paper

Interventions into correctness are typically introduced directly into the text, they are rarely negotiable in the sense that the language revisor initiates a negotiation over the linguistic feature with the author in a comment. Example 23 presents examples of each subcategory.

Example 23.

Word order	Hence, there is a need for **more detailed** information ~~about~~ **on** the ~~more detailed~~ [term] of [country]~~,~~
	To understand and overcome the challenges of [term] for the benefit of [...], the increase [...] and [...]**, alone,** are not ~~alone~~ sufficient.
Tense	This **will** provide~~s~~ a framework for the analysis
Agreement	the work in this thesis is limited to [...] for which there ~~is~~ **are** enough [noun+plural] available for study,
Prepositions	they are able to shed light ~~to~~ **on** the [...]
Spelling	he must admit that there is an in**fin**~~f~~ite [concept]

Based on my observations in the field, correctness issues were often easily and quickly identified and resolved by the revisors. Interventions into correctness typically draw from language norms codified in grammar books and dictionaries, i.e. from prescriptive rules of English use.

Conventionality

When language revisors intervene in conventionality, they make changes that are related to sentence-internal punctuation, orthography[36], collocation or wordiness. Interventions into conventionality amounted to 46 per cent out of

[36] At first glance, some of the interventions into orthography (such as changing the spelling in words like *analyze* or *categorize* into *analyse* and *categorise*) seem to resemble interventions into spelling. These spellings, however, are not objectively correct or incorrect, but rather the appropriate spelling depends on which variant of English the author has chosen (or the journal has prescribed) to be used in the manuscript. Because of this, interventions into orthography target the orthographic layout of lexemes and textual features. The orthographic changes introduced into manuscripts derive from norms of hyphenation, capitalization, typographical emphasis or using symbols in a way that is prescribed either in a particular variety of English or commonly established within a disciplinary discourse community.

all interventions introduced to the analyzed sections (35% in the Political science paper, 40% in the Thesis on natural sciences, 62% in the Philosophy paper). The distribution of interventions into conventionality out of all interventions introduced to the manuscript during the first read was as follows:

- Punctuation: 0% Political science paper, 18% Natural sciences thesis, 18% Philosophy paper
- Orthography: 1% Political science paper, 11% Natural sciences thesis, 32% Philosophy paper
- Collocation: 8% Political science paper, 8% Natural sciences thesis, 12% Philosophy paper
- Wordiness: 10% Political science paper, 1% Natural sciences thesis, 0% Philosophy paper

The changes are typically introduced as direct interventions, but they could be accompanied with "educational flagging", i.e. the language revisor explains the changes in a way that instructs on how to employ the feature in a more conventional manner (example 24). The example below illustrates an intervention into orthography (deletion of a hyphen).

Example 24.
The work identified 17 geographically- clustered and [adjective + noun]
Revisor 2 comment: An adverb ending in -ly cannot be combined with a hyphen.

The flagging can also include negotiation over an appropriate alternative, as can be seen in example 25 below. Interventions into conventionality often addressed collocation, clusters of words that typically occur together. In example 25 Revisor 2 introduces an indirect intervention into collocation.

Example 25.
In the past, people could allegedly link with **a** [adjective] world- view through the example of **a** recognized [person].
Revisor 2 comment: It might be a bit clearer to a reader to say: 'In the past, people could allegedly connect with a [adjective] world view through the example of a recognized [person].'

Revisor 2 flagged the phrase "link with" and offered an alternative phrasing that they argued could be "a bit clearer to the reader". Interventions into collocation substitute certain words or phrases which the language revisors often, during my fieldwork, described as "awkward". Interventions into collocation substituted words or phrases with ones that contained lexemes that typically occur together, or alternatively, suggested the authors themselves make a substitution through flagging. On one occasion, when intervening in collocation while revising a translation, Revisor 2 told me:

> The wording is not wrong, it's just awkward to read. The main point is I would never say this. But, because I stumble over it even in reading, I thought best to simplify it.

The formulations that trigger interventions into collocation are not "wrong" in any "objective" criteria, i.e. the conventionality of the phrasing cannot be easily evaluated against a codified standard. Rather, the interventions into collocation are triggered by usage of language that is not typical or is uncommon in the context and genre.

As noted, most of the interventions into conventionality were introduced as direct interventions in the analyzed sections, and in fact, example 25 contains one other intervention that is categorized under conventionality: an intervention into punctuation (substituting a hyphen with a space), which the revisor did not choose to flag. Example 26 illustrates the two other subcategories.

Example 26.

Punctuation (sentence-internal)	1. He manifests it because**,** as an [noun]**,** he must admit that there is an [concept]**,** which is adequately approached through the [...]. 2. Hence, there is a need for **more detailed** information ~~about~~ **on** the ~~more detailed~~ [term] of [country]~~,~~ and its role in the [term] studies of [...].
Wordiness	1. the ability of ~~the~~ state**s** to control their ~~external~~ borders 2. To update the information ~~of~~ **on this** [~~term~~] structure in [Country]—**in order** to ~~match~~ **meet** the needs ~~and the methods~~ of ~~modern~~ **contemporary** [term] analyses **Revisor 2 comment:** This can be deleted, because "methods" would be implied by "the needs of contemporary [term] analyses". When there is redundancy, such as this, I will recommend that you cut it out, just to keep the reading pace steady.

What distinguishes these from the interventions into correctness is that the interventions into conventionality typically draw on norms that govern the writing of English more implicitly. Some of these norms are encoded into grammars or dictionaries, and some, e.g. avoiding wordiness or punctuation rules might be brought up in writing manuals. The revisors rationalize some interventions into conventionality by referring to their intuitive knowledge of language use, as demonstrated above in the discussion on interventions into collocation.

Then again, some of the interventions into conventionality explicitly draw on codified norms. In example 27 Revisor 2 introduces flagging to the Philosophy paper, and in their comment they explicitly mention the journal stylesheet to enforce their indirect intervention.

Example 27.

[Name] ([1234-4321]) employs the [adjective] nouns [noun 1] and [noun 2] as well as the verb [verb] in his main works.

Revisor 2 comment: I had a quick look at the stylesheet and a couple of other articles in the [journal] and they seem to use the en-dash (–) for number ranges, such as years, as here. In this case, here and throughout the paper, I recommend the en-dash: "(1234–4321)"

However, in their interventions into wordiness, the language revisors are drawing on norms of what is "expected/accepted" of language use in a context of academic writing in particular (Hynninen and Solin, 2017). During fieldwork, I witnessed the language revisors making remarks on what they construed as expectations of the journal article genre. Such remarks included "Brevity is better than wordiness" which Revisor 3 rationalized by saying "journal articles get cited and they are easier to understand if they are shorter". Interventions into conventionality are not rationalized by linguistic correctness expectations that impose language norms across all contexts of formal writing. Instead, interventions into conventionality draw from norms of appropriateness that depend on the context. The rationalizations the language revisors provided thus often appealed to norms issued by authorities who gatekeep the publishing platforms.

Communicability

Interventions into communicability introduce changes into cohesion, metadiscourse, sentence length and text-external reference. In my categorization of communicability, I draw on the model proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976) for analyzing cohesion and the model proposed by Hyland (2005) for analyzing metadiscourse. The interventions into communicability are either made directly into the text, with or without flagging, or the interventions are only flagged. In essence, all the intervention strategies exemplified at the beginning of section 7.2 were employed by the language revisors in their interventions into communicability. In the text trajectory analysis, interventions into communicability made up 33% (42% in the Political science paper, 30% in the Natural sciences thesis and 27% in the Philosophy paper) of all interventions introduced into the analyzed sections. The distribution of interventions was as follows:

- Cohesion: 31% Political science paper, 21% Natural sciences thesis, 24% Philosophy paper
- Metadiscourse: 7% Political science paper, 7% Natural sciences thesis, 0% Philosophy paper
- Text-external reference: 4% Political science paper, 0% Natural sciences thesis, 0% Philosophy paper
- Sentence length: 0% Political science paper, 1% Natural sciences thesis, 0% Philosophy paper

In both the Natural sciences thesis and in the Political science paper, most of the interventions into communicability target cohesion. In the Philosophy paper, cohesion is the only subcategory of interventions introduced to communicability in the analyzed sections. The interventions into cohesion

introduce, omit or substitute determiners, anaphoric reference, lexical cohesion (paraphrasing and repetition) or change the order of information. The interventions into determiners alone comprise 17% of all interventions made to the analyzed sections in total. Determiners create cohesion by modifying and defining the subsequent linguistic elements, thus indicating their relation to other textual elements (Halliday and Hasan, 1976, pp. 70–72). In other words, determiners are *referential* as they *point* to other elements in the text. Determiners "provide texture" as they indicate to the reader that relevant information for making sense of the expression is recoverable and identifiable in the preceding sections of the text[37] (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 72–73, see example 28 below). The second largest intervention category targeting cohesion were interventions into anaphoric reference. The function of anaphoric reference (or anaphoric demonstratives as Halliday and Hasan call them, p. 68), function very similarly to demonstratives by pointing backwards in a text. Together with interventions into the usage of determiners, these add up to 23 per cent of all interventions introduced during the first read. Example 28 (next page) presents the most common types of interventions into communicability. Again, as in the other two aspects of quality and as shown in example 28, most interventions into communicability are introduced directly into the text (some subcategories have been marked with a superscript to ease identification).

[37] In speech determiners often function by making a reference to the wider exophoric context (Halliday and Hasan, 1976, p. 71–73).

Example 28.[38]

Cohesion • Determiners[i] • Anaphoric reference[ii] • Lexical cohesion[v] (paraphrasing, see sentence length)	1. Hence, there is a need for more detailed information on the [term] structure of [Country], and its role in the [term] studies of [...]. To update ~~the~~[i] information of on **this**[ii] [term] structure in [Country] 2. Th**is**[i] thesis utilizes modern [...] methods of [method of analysis] and **the**[i] data of over [number] individuals from the [name of the] Study, providing both **a**[i] spatially and temporally detailed view
Metadiscourse • transitions[iii]	• To update the information on this structure in [Country**]—in order**[iii] to meet the needs of contemporary [term] analyses—this thesis examines the [Country]'s fine-scale [term] during the [xx]th century ~~and~~ **together with**[iii] its connections to the [...] of [...]. • The country is part of the [...] area and has, in general, ~~but~~ **albeit**[iii] with some hesitation that will be explained in this article, supported a the [...] System ([acronym]).
Text-external reference[iv]	1. On [date], [year], the [political actor] made <u>a first</u> proposal for a [...] Decision to [verb] [number] [noun] <u>for the benefit of</u> [Country 1] and [Country 2], which was followed by a decision [...]. Revisor 3 comment 1: OR "an initial"? **Revisor 3 comment 2:** OR "to help relieve"? 2. In [year], [Country] acceded to both the [agreement] and <u>the Protocol</u>[iv], **Revisor 3 Comment:** seems unclear. Doesn't this have a fuller name? OR "[term] Protocol"?
Sentence length	1. To understand and overcome the challenges of [method of analysis] for the benefit of [...], the increase in sample sizes and methodological **improvements, alone,** are not sufficient**.** ~~but~~ <u>also</u>[39] **For efforts to truly overcome these challenges,**[v] a thorough understanding of the general [term] in [...] populations is also needed.
Information order	1. **Prior to this thesis**, ~~The~~ knowledge about the [term] structure of [Country] ~~preceding this thesis~~ has relied on the analyses of [...]

As example 28 shows, there are specific features of communicability (particularly text-external reference and sentence length) that are often

[38] In Example 28 I have removed all other interventions besides ones introduced to the features under discussion to ease reading.

[39] The comment is provided in example 29 (the second comment).

introduced through flagging. The remaining of this section will be devoted to exploring these features in particular.

During fieldwork I noticed that some of the revisors intervened in sentence length more frequently than others. Revisor 3 did not often intervene in sentence length while Revisor 2 did so regularly (the example on sentence length in Example 28 is taken from a text Revisor 2 authors' edited). Revisor 2 pays close attention to sentence length in all the texts they revise and told me on more than one occasion that their threshold word count, above which they typically seriously consider intervening in sentence length, is 40 words in one sentence. The revisor often intuitively stopped reading when faced with a longer sentence, used the cursor to paint the sentence and the Microsoft Word word count function to check the sentence length. If the sentence was longer than 40 words, they typically introduced either punctuation to break the clausal structure or divided the sentence into two separate sentences. Revisor 2 often also flagged the intervention into sentence length and introduced it as a "suggestion" in the comment. In example 29, there are two examples of such comments introduced to the final paragraphs of the Natural sciences thesis abstract and conclusion (for the second comment, see Example 28 for context).

Example 29.

Revisor 2 comment to abstract: The final thought here at the end is too long (too dense) as one sentence (56 words) and needs to be broken into two separate sentences, so the reader can absorb each, separately. If applicable, I suggest this alternative (with my reasoning below):

Revisor 2 comment to conclusion: Often, the final sentence of a thesis is a bit too long. I understand the impulse very well myself. I therefore often recommend, first, a full stop somewhere in the sentence and, then, a rephrasing that will leave your reader with a final thought that you want them to take away when putting down your work.
Here, I can only rephrase based on what I see here. If you wish to rephrase in a completely new (and better) way, please do – and get back to me, unless you just have [name] check it. My suggestion:

From the examples it becomes evident that the trigger is not the length of the sentence as such, although the "rule" Revisor 2 follows is construed as a rationalization for the interventions. Revisor 2's reasoning for the intervention in the abstract, however, focuses on making the text easier to understand for the future reader. In the conclusion, the justifications construed for the intervention do not relate to making the sentence more accessible, but rather in placing more weight on the author's argument by splitting the sentence into two. In the second comment, Revisor 2 is not only helping the author to make the text more understandable, but also to foreground their argument and the importance of the findings presented in the thesis.

The interventions into communicability are related to the lack or problematic use of determiners, anaphoric reference, lexical cohesion, use of metadiscourse (especially transitions), the ways in which the manuscripts employ text-external reference and sentence length. Thus, interventions into communicability seem to have a different function compared to the other aspects of quality presented above. They help guide the readers' interpretations or indicate to the author potentially problematic sections in the text in terms of how well the text communicates the author's intended meanings to its audience. Even though, Hyland (2005) only refers to metadiscursive devices in his model, to me it seems that all interventions triggered by potential problems in the communicability of the text function as "discrete" ways to covertly guide the reader's interpretation of the text.

In an interview Revisor 2 talked about a phenomenon that they typically encounter in authors' editing that seems to be related to interventions into communicability.

Extract 38.

HMP	I think that , this just brought into my mind something you said here , like you as revisors have to keep in mind both the reader perspectives and the writer's perspective so you're in a way in between those two and trying to make the writers see what the problem is and then as readers to kind of react to the thing they're trying to convey
Rev2	yes . yes because we are reading that text for the first time
HMP	yeah
Rev2	and um , reading . silently , you can still stumble over a sentence . that has , too many thats in it or , it's clumsy or awkward . and then if you read it out loud , you can trip reading it out loud and so these are the kinds of things that you come across whereas if you're , if you're writing like me, like I mean if I'm writing a text , I'm not coming between the writer and the reader anymore , I am the writer and that's why it's so difficult for the writer to be the reader also . because you're producing an idea and you're doing your best , and somebody might stumble over that sentence or not understand it at all and you don't realise why , because you do understand it
HMP	yeah , you understand it because it's your idea
Rev2	yeah yeah so that's the , the advantage of being a revisor is that you've never seen that text before and if you stumble you know that there's a problem

In extract 38, Revisor 2 construes some of the interventions introduced in authors' editing as being triggered by miscommunication, as the revisor "stumbles over a sentence" because it impedes understanding. The fact that they "stumble" on a sentence or phrase is for them an indication that there is something potentially problematic in the text that needs remedying. In my

understanding, authors' editing is an ongoing process of *attunement* to the text. The attunement can be broken if the linguistic and textual elements in the text are not *aligned* in a meaningful way and this triggers the interventions into communicability.

As becomes apparent in the analysis, the language revisors monitor and intervene in a range of textual and linguistic elements in the texts they authors' edit. While it would be possible to claim that most of the interventions the revisors introduce occur at the sentence level, as Lillis and Curry (2010, p. 112) argue, there appears to be more going on than simply making corrections to sentence level features. It is evident that the interventions the language revisors introduce draw on correctness norms, but it seems correctness is only one of the aspects of language quality targeted by the authors' editing in the Unit. Furthermore, in terms of numbers, correctness is not the most common trigger of language regulation. In fact, interventions into correctness occur the least often in the analyzed sections compared to conventionality and communicability. The analysis shows that, besides regulating the linguistic correctness of the texts, the revisors also regulate how well the texts abide to conventions of formal, academic and disciplinary writing (see also Hynninen, 2020, 2021). In addition, they facilitate the textual unfolding of meaning-making by identifying and intervening in linguistic or textual elements that could potentially impede understanding.

In the following section, I employ the categories established above to analyze the second phase, i.e. the second read of authors' editing. While I was in the field, the two-phase-system seemed a relatively well-established part of the practice among the in-house language revisors. Despite this, I experienced challenges obtaining data which would allow me to compare the two phases. The challenges were caused by the routines the language revisors had created for working. They had no use for the "in-progress" version, so they worked on the same copy during the second read, fusing the two phases into one document. At the time of fieldwork, I was only able to collect one text trajectory that contained both versions and had to ask the language revisors for more data after fieldwork had ended. During the intervening years, authors' editing process had become even more time-constrained than when I carried out my participant observation. In extract 39, Revisor 2 replies to my email where I had inquired for a possibility to receive two authors' edited versions (the first and second reads) of the same text.

Extract 39.

> But, I don't work like that, or not any longer over the past few years, especially with longer texts, such as [name]'s.
> […]
> Each day (and so each new copy of the paper, numbered consecutively) gets a new layer of revision. I'm constantly working over the whole paper with certain problems. I also flip back and forth between modes in Track Changes so that I don't get blinded by my own revision work on particularly messy parts of the paper.

> […]
> So I never just go through the paper once, save that version, and go over the paper a second time, and then send that version.
> For me the process is a continual and messy "back and forth" with one final check at the end to make sure I've done what I said in margin comments - that is, to make sure that there is consistency in the whole.

The first reads I witnessed could also be characterized as "continual and messy "back and forth"" while the second read was more about monitoring their own work. The email suggests that there is currently even less time for the "final check". This development is clearly visible also in the number of interventions introduced during the second phase of authors' editing by Revisor 2 (text trajectories collected in 2020) and Revisor 3 (text trajectory collected in 2018) which I will present next.

7.2.2 THE SECOND READ IN AUTHORS' EDITING

During fieldwork, I observed the language revisors working on a text, often for many days and even weeks with longer texts, and after they had reached the end of the document, taking a break trying to distance themselves from the text. From this I deduced that the second phase of authors' editing was a quality assurance mechanism (as discussed in chapter 4). The second read was typically not solely about monitoring but included interventions into the text as well. I became interested in what it was that the language revisors did not "catch" or were not able to "see" during the first round of authors' editing, so I decided to analyze the same two sections, introduction and conclusion, of the three text trajectories after the revisors had done the second read.

As I analyzed the three texts' second reads, it became immediately obvious that for the two revisors, Revisor 2 and Revisor 3, the second phase served different functions, possibly due to personal working habits, but most likely also because of the developments in how authors' editing is currently carried out in the Unit. Table 7 presents the distribution of interventions according to the aspect of quality they target.

Table 7 *The aspect of quality targeted during the second read of authors' editing*

Text	**Aspect of quality**			
	Correctness	Conventionality	Communicability	Self-revision
Natural sciences thesis	0	0	0	1
Political science paper	7	10	12	2
Philosophy paper	1	2	0	1

Table 7 shows that the number of interventions introduced to the analyzed sections in the three texts during the second read differs dramatically. Revisor 2 only introduced 1% (n=1) of the changes to the Natural sciences thesis and 11% (n=4) of the changes to the Philosophy paper during the second read, while Revisor 3 introduced 27% (n=31) of all changes to the Political science paper during the second read. The difference can be caused by a number of factors, some of which have been discussed above. I did not observe Revisor 3 authors' editing the Political science paper, but I did observe them work on a number of other texts. They typically proceeded by first going through the text with Track changes all markup on (i.e. they were able to see all changes), and after finishing the first round of editing, switching to simple markup to hide the revisions and read through the text as a "cleaned" version. Revisor 2 worked by switching "back and forth" between all and simple markup functions during the first read. The second read appears to be more clearly about monitoring since only few interventions are introduced during the second read. It is thus possible that the difference in the usage of digital tools could explain why the number of interventions is significantly lower in the two papers edited by Revisor 2 compared to the Political science paper edited by Revisor 3.

For both revisors, the second read functions as a way to monitor their own performance. This is especially apparent in the self-revisions the revisors introduce to the texts. In the analyzed sections in Natural sciences thesis, Revisor 2's entire contribution during the second read comprises of one self-revision that targeted a typo (first read: to controling – second read: controll**l**ing).

While Revisor 3 also introduced self-revisions during the second read, most of the interventions were new interventions into linguistic and textual elements they had not intervened in during the first read. The most common interventions during the second read in the Political science paper were changes that targeted tense (6), wordiness (6) and the use of determiners (4). Especially the last two were common triggers of interventions during the first read as well, but interventions into tense were mostly introduced during the second read (first read: 3). Interventions into tense in the Political science paper seemed to systematize the use of tense so that simple present and simple past were systematically changed into present perfect or simple present was changed into simple past. It is likely that some of the issues, such as inconsistencies in tense, become more easily identifiable after the revisor becomes more familiar with the text and when they use the simple markup function (which was more typical of Revisor 3 during the second read).

In the next section, I investigate how the language revisors introduce flagging during the two reads of authors' editing in the Unit.

7.3 THE FUNCTIONS OF FLAGGING IN AUTHORS' EDITING

Based on the fieldwork, the discussion in the seminar titled "To flag or to correct" and the sections of the texts I had analyzed, it was clear that, for the revisors, flagging was a central strategy to introduce changes. In this section I analyze how the two revisors introduce interventions into the three texts[40] through commenting. For this analysis, I categorized and analyzed every comment the revisors introduced into the texts (first read: n=46; second read n=18) on the basis of what linguistic element triggered the commenting. Table 8 presents the distribution of the two intervention strategies (the indirect and combination strategies) introduced through commenting.

Table 8 *Distribution of flagging strategies according to the targeted aspect of quality*

		Aspects of quality					
		Correctness		Conventionality		Communicability	
		Comb.	Indir.	Comb.	Indir.	Comb.	Indir.
First read	Natural sciences thesis	1	1	7	1	1	2
	Political science paper	0	0	2	5	2	13
	Philosophy paper	1	0	1	8	1	1
Total		2	1	10	14	4	16
Second read	Natural sciences thesis	0	1	1	0	1	0
	Political science paper	0	0	0	3	1	5
	Philosophy paper	0	0	0	6	0	0
Total		0	1	1	9	2	5

Table 8 shows that the majority of comments are introduced during the first read (n=47). In addition, most of the comments introduced both during the first and second reads target either conventionality or communicability (first read n=44, second read n=17). Even though the adopted intervention strategies vary across the analyzed texts, in the analyzed texts, the two revisors favor the indirect strategy. To me this suggests that throughout the editing

[40] The entire manuscript of the two papers; introduction, results, discussion and conclusions sections in the Natural sciences thesis.

process issues arise that the language revisors are unwilling to tackle on their own and choose to only flag the potentially problematic sections to bring them to the author's attention.

Below are examples of both strategies which I present here to discuss what the selection of the strategy could indicate in terms of distribution of responsibilities in authors' editing.

Example 30.
In the church we observe the living reality of this [adjective + noun]
Revisor 2 comment: There is a distinction in spelling, as far as I'm aware, between the church (building) and the Church (as an institution). Here and below, you would be speaking of the institution and membership in the institution.

The intervention flagged in example 30 was categorized as targeting orthography. From the context, Revisor 2 is assuming the author refers to the Church as an institution but hesitates to make the change as they cannot be entirely sure this is the meaning the author intended to convey. Instead, the lexeme is flagged (i.e. by employing the indirect intervention strategy), and the intervention is explained to the author, leaving it to them to decide whether to implement the suggestion.

Example 31.
In [*artefact*], [name]**'s formulations** ~~does not employ~~ **are not** so radical ~~formulations~~.
Revisor 2 comment: Oddly, the term 'so' can be used in many ways, with slightly different connotations. Here this cannot be used in the phrase '…does not employ so radical formulations'. This latter formulation is awkward and would need an adjustment to something like, for instance: 'does not employ such radical formulations'. In short, if you keep 'formulations', then the term you use to replace 'so' would need to work well with 'formulations' (even without the term 'radical'). For example, you may say 'such formulations', but not 'so formulations'. Depending on what you prefer, revise as desired.

In example 31, for Revisor 2, the main issue triggering the intervention was how the author collocated so with the noun formulations, and thus the intervention was categorized as targeting collocation. By adopting the combination strategy, Revisor 2 is able to both introduce a more drastic change directly in the text while at the same time providing another alternative that only slightly modifies the author's wording.

How the language revisors employ flagging, or what aspects the comments target, is not necessarily as important as the observation that, in particular, some of the interventions categorized under conventionality and communicability cannot be completely outsourced to the language revisor. Instead, they require negotiation with the author. Particularly clear examples of potential problems the language revisors often flagged were interventions that targeted lexical cohesion and text-external reference. The former was

most often flagged by Revisor 2 and the latter by Revisor 3. Below are examples of both (introduced during the first read).

Example 32.

1. Because [software] provides a [...] algorithm that was observed to be affected by the sample size, we developed our own algorithm based on total variation distance (TVD) for inferring relationships between [...] and compared it to the original [analysis produced by the software].

Revisor 2 comment: It would be good to repeat your antecedent here, because I don't immediately identify what "it" refers to here. For example, I come up with this alternative. Is it correct? Can you say it this way? "Because [software] provides a [...] algorithm that was observed to be affected by the sample size, we developed our own algorithm**, instead,** based on total variation distance (TVD) for inferring relationships between [...] and compared **our TVD results** to the original [analysis produced by the software]".

2. During the past few years, the [...] quota has been 750 and ~~the~~ [handl**ing**]~~ment~~ of the most [adjective] groups has been emphasized ([citation]).

Revisor 3 comment: OR "750 per annum"?

The interventions in example 32 show that the revisors intervene in aspects that are not potentially problematic because of their linguistic form, but rather, because they hinder understanding or are ambiguous, i.e. they impede the communicability of the text. Even though most interventions into communicability were introduced directly into the text, the analysis of flagging shows that at times these could not be solved by the language revisor alone which is why they bring the issue to the author's attention by flagging. Furthermore, all except two[41] of the comments introduced during the first read were left in the copy that was sent to the author, indicating that the potential problems could not be solved by the language revisors even after becoming more familiar with the text. In fact, during the second read, both language revisors introduced additional flagging to notify the author of issues in the text they had not been able to catch during the first read.

Although the flagging strategies – and the frequency with which the language revisors chose to employ them – differ across the analyzed texts, in each of the three texts, flagging seems to function as an essential way to intervene in features the revisors deem potentially problematic. On average the two revisors introduced 1–2 comments on each page they authors' edited. This is noteworthy considering that writing a comment in the margin takes notably longer compared to direct interventions. In extract 40 Revisor 2 explains to the other participants in the seminar I analyzed why they often

[41] Both comments were changed into a direct intervention during the second read.

choose to include comments in the texts they authors' edit instead of intervening directly in the manuscript.

Extract 40.

Rev2 yeah , I take a lot of time to try to explain why I do the things I do , so already it's like a negotiation rather than uhm telling them that okay they need to do this , I think that they're the expert and I think that's one way to negotiate the ethical thing is to err you know suggest that and say if you wanna use a part of this if this doesn't express what your original meaning uuh was then you can bend it or we can talk about it we can do uh um , a sounding board get together and talk about it if need be [...] I wouldn't want people just to only take my words just , eh just press enter yeah I'll take all of these that's what I try to avoid by chatting them @up@ in the margins and offering different alternatives and try to keep the flow of the brain cells flowing so that they are thinking and working with me

It seems that even though the corrections form the majority of interventions, it is the flagging strategies that Revisor 2 construes as a defining feature of their work. By "chatting" with them in the margin, the revisors invite the authors to engage in a negotiation over issues arising in the text. By explaining, initiating negotiations and directing the authors attention to potentially problematic elements, the revisors encourage the authors to take responsibility over the linguistic form and claim ownership over the wordings – they invite the authors to coproduce language quality as a joint effort.

I will conclude the chapter 7 by synthetizing the findings presented above. By drawing on existing work on language norms, interventions into correctness can be described as what Hynninen and Solin (2017) call "a prototypical lay understanding of [language] norms". Hynninen and Solin argue that one understanding of language norms is to view norms as "what is codified in a particular setting". These types of norms are language norms that have been laid out as "correct" by linguistic authorities and have "relative permanence and (apparent) stability and may have broad scope across a variety of settings". Interventions into conventionality, then, draw on norms that describe how English is typically or commonly used in the written mode and in the context of scholarly writing. Hynninen and Solin (2017) argue that another type of language norm, in addition to the codified norms discussed above, could be described as "*what is expected / accepted* in a particular setting" (2017, emphasis original). According to Hynninen and Solin, these language norms describe "expectations and beliefs held in a particular community with respect to what kind of linguistic behaviour is acceptable". Furthermore, Hynninen and Solin claim that the expectations are not spelled out explicitly as written codes and because of this they may remain implicit.

Interventions into communicability, however, operate on their own rationale in which the language revisor and the author co-construe meaning.

In making these interventions the revisors constantly *attune* themselves to the meanings the texts try to convey. When they identify discrepancies in what they presume was the intended meaning and the indexes created by the linguistic choices, they introduce interventions into communicability to *align* the text with their expectations. In making these interventions and determining how to best help the reader make sense of the text, the revisors draw on instances of meaning making taking place elsewhere in the text. Kockelman (2007, p. 381) argues that in every enactment of communication there is a "relative symmetry of the speaker's and the addressee's horizons" that constraints the way reference can be produced. Reference, he argues, requires a "relative overlap of participants' experiential, discursive, and cultural horizons" (Kockelman, 2007, p. 382). While authors' editing, the language revisors constantly monitor the linguistic production of these horizons as the text unfolds. They also intervene in those linguistic elements, or the lack of them, that break the alignment of the horizons between the writer and the reader.

The interventions introduced during authors' editing seem to serve multiple functions: they correct the linguistic form, conventionalize the text to make it appropriate for the academic and field-specific context, but they also facilitate the way the text communicates to its readers. The linguistic forms and the indexes they carry are coupled in the process of writing and rewriting, making them difficult if not impossible to disentangle from one another. The revisors themselves consider authors' editing as a "dry run" in determining how well the text manages to create the desired effects. The authors' editing service in the Unit provides a test-read, a way of providing feedback on a reader's uptake of the text. The feedback provides the author with information on those aspects in the text that trigger unfavorable uptake in the reader. These triggers can be e.g. ungrammatical structures, inconsistencies in spelling or formulations that throw the reader off track. The language revisors help the authors to identify and remedy these elements in the text. By collaborating with the authors in creating indexes of quality which the revisors presume might be commonly recognized, they hope to help facilitate a more favorable uptake for the text.

Although, text production is collaborative in both translation and authors' editing, the degree to which the translators in the Unit control the language of English-medium texts far exceeds the power that language revisors wield in regulating the language of scholarly manuscripts. While translation in the Unit features parts of both residential and representational agency, authors' editing is primarily about "having knowledge about social, semiotic, and material processes" (Kockelman, 2007, p. 376). The language revisors use this knowledge to facilitate the publication of the manuscripts they have been called on to authors' edit, but they do not control what counts as language quality in the eyes of the gatekeepers of scientific publishing. As the indexes of quality vary from discipline to discipline (e.g. Hynninen and Kuteeva, 2017; Solin and Hynninen, 2018), these need to be co-construed in collaboration

with the author of the manuscript. Moreover, the authors who seek the help of language revisors, can choose to take up or ignore the language regulatory interventions that the revisors introduce. In other words, language revisors' agency is limited. Because of tensions and instability in the distribution of roles responsibilities in academic knowledge creation practices, at times the role of the language revisor might need to be renegotiated. I will continue this discussion in the next chapter in which I analyze how the language revisor's role might become subject to change due to feedback provided by academic brokers.

8 RENEGOTIATING THE ROLE OF THE LANGUAGE REVISOR

The four chapters preceding this final analysis chapter have primarily focused on investigating what kind of competences, materials and meanings routinely configure in the practices of translation and authors' editing, i.e. how these practices are typically carried out in the Unit. However, unlike in translation, the language coproduced collaboratively by authors and language revisors in authors' editing is routinely subjected to evaluation. Whether or not the coproduced language entextualized into the manuscript eventually meets the criteria for "good" English is not for the authors or language revisors to decide. It is the gatekeepers of academic publishing who determine what counts as quality in English-medium academic writing. This chapter broadens the scope of the analysis presented in the previous chapter by including the evaluative stances adopted by editors and peer reviewers who ultimately decide if a paper is fit for publication. Even more importantly, this chapter investigates how gatekeeper feedback might trigger a need to renegotiate the role of the language revisor.

During my fieldwork, the language revisors often talked about scenarios where authors' edited texts received negative language-related comments from referees and editors in the peer review process. The language revisors noted that these cases were rare but emotionally stressful, because they constituted an anomaly in the context of the language revisors' normal work. Negative language-related feedback was a "hot topic" in the Unit at the time of my fieldwork also because two of the Unit's freelance language revisors had participated in an international conference in which a presentation was given on the subject. Later in the spring 2018, the two freelancers re-give the presentation[42] in a seminar organized by the local language professionals' organization.

Having established in chapter 7 what a typical authors' editing process is like in the Unit, I wanted to understand what was going on in these rare but undeniably challenging situations that the language revisors perceived as questioning their expertise. This chapter looks at the authors' editing processes of two journal articles that were submitted to English-medium journals and received a "revise and resubmit" decision. However, neither of the cases truly resemble a scenario in which the manuscript would have been authors' edited before the first submission into a journal and still received negative language related comments.

Despite my attempts to collect such data, there were no such texts the Unit's language professionals would have either stored or had been working on during my fieldwork (which, again, implies that these cases are truly rare).

[42] The presentation was re-given with the original presenter's permission.

What I managed to collect were two texts that had been first submitted into a journal and were sent in for authors' editing either during the review process or after receiving the "revise and resubmit" decision. In the first text trajectory, the manuscript that Revisor 1 was commissioned to authors' edit had received a decision to revise and resubmit and the commission was also accompanied by the decision document. In the second text trajectory, the manuscript was first submitted and authors' editing was carried out while the paper was in the review process. Later, the paper did, however, receive negative comments on language in the second round of peer review, after it had already gone through the authors' editing process twice. Most of the analysis presented in this chapter is dedicated to exploring what happens in the second text trajectory after the second round of peer review.

The reactions of actors in this text production process are somewhat exceptional, and hence this chapter can be characterized as a deviant case analysis (Seawright and Gerring, 2008). The findings challenge some of the earlier conceptualizations of authors' editing (see 2.2.3). To enable comparison across already existing conceptualizations, the findings of the second text trajectory analysis are contrasted with the mainstream understanding of authors' editing that dominates existing literature, as well as with the findings I have presented in chapter 7. This chapter aims to broaden the understanding by investigating the following research questions:

> 1c. What kind of textual and linguistic elements trigger language regulation?
> 2b. What kind of roles do the language revisors take on during text production?
> 2d. How are the roles and responsibilities distributed socially across actors taking part in the practices of knowledge creation in the text histories and particularly in the second text trajectory?

The two text trajectories (TT) consist of several versions of the authors' edited manuscripts as well as other data I was able to collect that was related to the production of these texts. Below I list the types of data both TTs contain:

- Text trajectories: TT on "Roles", three versions; TT on "Activity", four and a half versions[43]
- Four email correspondence threads: TT on "Roles", eight emails between Author 1 and Revisor 1; TT on "Activity", 47 emails between Lead author and Revisor 2, 11 emails between Lead author and Second author and 15 emails between Lead author and the editors of the special issue
- Three journal editorial decision documents

[43] The second round of revision was divided into two separate documents. Revisor 2 was only able to provide me with the authors' editing process of the second part of the second version of the document.

For the TT on "Activity", I also conducted an interview with Lead author and received from them their personal research diary entries covering the period of time during which the article on "Activity" was produced (55 pages[44]). I found that the same tensions identified in Ch. 7 regarding the division of labor and distribution of responsibilities in language quality production, can exacerbate in the deviant case, i.e. TT on "Activity".

The feedback the authors received was followed by at least one, but in the TT on "Activity", by several rounds of revisions by both the author(s) and the language revisor with whom they were working. The analysis demonstrates that a range of reactive measures became available for the language revisor after the author received negative feedback on the manuscript. Which of the reactive measures the language revisor chose to adopt were the result of a range of factors: how the feedback on language was formulated and whether the paper had already gone through authors' editing, how established the author commissioning the service was, how well the referees succeeded in specifying the root causes of the negative feedback as well as the language revisors' individual working strategies. As noted in Chapter 7, some of the language revisors were strict in keeping within the limits defined for the service while others acknowledged doing more than asked at times also in typical authors' editing commissions. The details of the referee feedback and the authors and authors' editors' reactions to the feedback are elaborated in section 8.2.

8.1 THE FACILITATORS OF PUBLICATION

Even though receiving negative feedback on an already authors' edited manuscript is relatively rare, it bears significance to the language revisors. The language revisors claim that their most important duty is helping authors get published in international journals. Extract 41 is taken from my fieldwork diary.

Extract 41.

> [Rev2] takes pride in the work and says it's good when the manuscripts get published. [Rev2] says that the work is about formulating or modifying the thought the author(s) produce so that the journals can accept the article.
>
> (Fieldwork diary entry 29 November 2017)

Burrough-Boenisch and Matarese (2013, p. 174), along the same lines, have noted that the authors' editor works "to ensure that the manuscript will go

[44] After our interview, Lead author (without solicitation) sent me "a considerable part of my research diary (55 pages!) covering that period of time. […] It shows how in progress the article was in October and how grateful I was for the language revisor. I marked in yellow sections that I think could be useful for you. You don't have to use it, you have a lot of data as it is, but I do think the diary is more authentic than the interview we did yesterday, so it's worth keeping in mind".

through peer review fairly and 'respectfully'". They also argue that authors themselves may recognize that the paper's chances of being published increase if an authors' editor is consulted and if they seek language help to improve their odds. As the facilitation of publication is a central goal of the practice, a manuscript being rejected or receiving negative comments on language after authors' editing can be seen as calling into question the language professionals' expertise in providing the authors' editing service.

The language revisors' role in the publication process is an interesting one. Even when the language revisors specialize in certain fields, they are usually not specialists in the fields they authors' edit. In non-Anglophone contexts, such as the one I studied, the manuscripts are often produced in collaboration with substance experts and language professionals. The collaboration is characterized by the assumption that the actions needed to bring a paper into a publishable condition can be neatly distributed and compartmentalized across the actors taking part in the process. In other words, that some of the actors in the process could be solely responsible for substance and some actors only for the language work. This would mean, as Lillis and Curry (2015, p. 148) argue, that "knowledge and language are construed as two distinguishable objects" (see also Lillis and Turner, 2001). Lillis and Curry (2015, p. 148) claim that this results in a number of assumptions:

> [I]n evaluation practices, evaluators can claim to be able: a) to identify problems with language as separate from meaning — 'the language needs fixing'; b) to identify problems with meaning as separate from language — 'the meaning needs fixing'. The clear demarcation between language and meaning also enables evaluators to claim that language can be dealt with by those deemed to have the appropriate language knowledge ('native speakers') regardless of their specific linguistic or academic background.

Based on Lillis and Curry's (2015) findings, this seems a commonly shared assumption among the scholars using and recommending authors' editing services. The discourse also appears to be naturalized among the Unit's language revisors. The following extract is taken from a seminar recording in which two of the Unit's freelancers re-gave a presentation on negative language-related feedback in the peer review process. Seminar convener 1 is one of the two freelancers.

Extract 42.

SemCon1 but they're the ones at the end of the day that will look like they're not , competent if if it sounds silly and that's our job to help them with that , we can make them see things that they can't see? because the language is <u>our</u> area of expertise , as opposed to the substance they're writing about , but they're not professional writers? usually? and uh , I think we need to , encourage them to <u>work</u> on writing sometimes that these manuscripts get , as you know they get submitted as as <u>drafts</u> and and I think we need to encourage the writers to , really , I think [name] used make them

> sweat it out , and and question? them and challenge them a little bit to eh bad papers won't get published so , if you could avoid the negative feedback coming back by by helping at this stage then , then that can be quite , helpful to the writers

The extract construes a division of labor where some of the duties in the production of English-medium scholarly writing can be allocated to some participants, such as the author ("the substance they're writing about") and some of them to others, for example the language professional ("the language is our area of expertise"). In a study by Lillis and Curry (2015, p. 137), the editors and referees also shared similar assumptions: "Most evaluator comments point to the need for additional language work and suggest it be carried out by someone outside of the meaning-knowledge production process". These assumptions might be functioning heuristics when *all* actors are successful in completing their responsibilities in the English-medium publication process, but as becomes evident in the analysis I present below, these assumptions cause the language revisor to feel criticized if the process does not proceed straightforwardly. The problem is many folded, but one of the root causes seems to be that the role of the language revisor is an invisible one to some of the other actors taking part in the process, especially to the gatekeepers.

In the seminar I attended, the invisibility of the revisors was construed as resulting from lack of acknowledgement – the language professionals are rarely credited for their work in the publication process, but there was a degree of variation in how often and how successfully the Unit's language revisors were allocated credit for their contribution in the process. Revisor 2, for example notes that many of their clients do in fact thank them in their first footnote, "especially if I've done a lot of work for them in getting the article published" (email to HMP). However, in the seminar, some of the language revisors were truly frustrated by the lack of acknowledgement: "it's a bit annoying when they acknowledge their cleaner but they don't acknowledge you" (Freelance revisor 2).

Another reason is that the underlying idea in using language support services is to create an illusion that the actor producing the substance, in this case in the form of a journal article, demonstrates enough competence in delivering their message. Burrough-Boenisch and Matarese (2013, p. 179–180; see also Hynninen and Kuteeva, 2017) note that one of the aims of the language revisor is to make sure that "the author's voice in English is credible and authoritative". In the seminar too, language quality was construed as an index of credibility. In extract 42, Seminar convener 1 says: "they're [the authors] the ones at the end of the day that will look like they're not competent if it sounds silly and that's our job to help them". Being credible enough warrants the authors at least a chance to "revise and resubmit". For one of the Unit's revisors, Revisor 3, one of the meanings they assigned to the work they do for authors was to ensure the manuscript got through the review process: "if too

many things in the text are unclear, the reviewer might just stop reading and reject it" (Fieldwork diary entry 20 November 2017). This is because the gatekeepers might equate language quality with a more general competence in writing academic manuscripts or even with the ability to do research.

In fact, when the referees make a decision on whether or not to accept the article for publication, they are asked to assess the manuscript's scientific contribution but also its successfulness of delivery, i.e. how well the text communicates the ideas the author(s) want to present. Thus by language brokering, the perceived competence of the author, as demonstrated through the English-medium writing, can end up facilitating the favorable uptake and publication of the manuscript.

However, language might not always be the root issue when authors receive negative feedback on how well the manuscript communicates its ideas. As Seminar convenor 1 indicates, sometimes manuscripts might not be entirely ready for submission or authors' editing – the manuscript might not be developed enough to get accepted for publication ("sometimes that these manuscripts get, as you know they get submitted as as drafts"). The problem is that both the quality of the arguments, the idea of a manuscript as well as the level of proficiency in English are *all* communicated through the use of language: the choice of words, formulation of sentences and the structuring of paragraphs and sections. The artificial distinction between the substance and the form could be what is causing the tensions in roles among the actors taking part in the publication process. Because of of the indexes of quality in scholarly manuscripts are created through the linguistic sign it is easy to think that having someone work on the language could fix all problems. In particular some of the aspects of argumentation I listed above, such as the structuring of papers for example, are not, however, typically considered to fall to the language revisors' remit.

In the next section, I move on to analyze two text histories. I will also contrast the analysis I present here with findings discussed in Ch. 7 as well as with the findings of previous research on authors' editing.

8.2 NEGATIVE REFEREE FEEDBACK: A TEXT TRAJECTORY ANALYSIS

In this section I analyze both texts, more specifically their various versions as they develop into a form that is eventually successfully submitted into an English-medium journal, as well as the uptake the versions create in different types of brokers. The analysis focuses especially on the role of the language revisor as part of a wider constellation of actors, and how their role is modified by the input provided by the other participants in the text production and publication process. According to Lillis and Curry (2015, p. 128), there is a

"small, but growing research literature on 'peer review'".[45] None of the previous research has, to my knowledge, addressed how the participants' roles and distribution of responsibilities might change during the dynamic and evolving practices of academic text production and publishing. Non-Anglophone English-medium scholarly writing takes place in changing configurations that are emergent rather than stable, and that evolve during the entire lifespan of an individual piece of writing. This chapter looks at two text trajectories in which the role of the language revisor is of particular interest, especially how they respond to the uptake the texts have created in the other actors participating in the writing and publishing of the manuscript. The analysis demonstrates how it is not solely the authors, receiving feedback from referees, who react to the brokering, but that the language revisor, too, can modify the extent to which they engage in entextualizing the referee comments into the manuscrupt.

The text trajectory analysis is an adaptation of Lillis and Curry's (2010) text analysis methodology (see chapter 2). In this analysis, I focus on the role and input of the language revisor in the production of the different versions of the manuscripts, but also make use of the correspondence between the author and the language revisor, as well as the decisions and feedback the journal editors and referees have prepared as part of the peer review process. The textual analysis of the second TT on "Activity" is also complemented with an interview with Lead author and the author's research diary entries concerning the writing process of the manuscript. As the personal research diary recorded Lead author's writing process for the TT on "Activity" *in situ*, my analysis draws on the diary entries to contextualize each of the actors' reactions.

8.2.1 TEXT TRAJECTORY ON "ROLES"

The first TT on "Roles" consists of three versions of a manuscript which three established authors submitted into an English-medium journal. The three versions are:

- The track-changes modified version of the manuscript the authors produced after receiving a first set of referee comments
- Version that includes Track changes modifications introduced by both authors and the language revisor before resubmission
- The final published paper.

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[45] Lillis and Curry (2015) divide research on peer review into three distinct lines of inquiry: the reviewers' evaluative stances (Kourilova, 1998; Fortanet-Gómez, 2008; Paltridge, 2013), reviewers' comments (Gosden, 2003; Mungra and Webber, 2010; Belcher, 2007; Hynninen, 2020, 2021; Bornmann et al. 2010; Bornmann et al. 2012) and reviewers' or authors' perspectives (Kourilova, 1998). Björkman (2018) has studied how PhD students navigate peer review comments with their supervisors, and Adler and Liyanarachchi (2011) as well as Mur Dueñas (2012) have also looked at the editorial review process from the perspective of authors.

In addition, the decision document was available for analysis, as well as the correspondence between Revisor 1 and Author 1 ranging from June 2016 to November 2016 (eight emails).

The paper was sent to authors' editing (for the first time) after the first round of peer review, but at a point when some of the modifications were still being incorporated into the manuscript. The following extract is from the correspondence between Revisor 1 and Author 1.

Extract 43.

Aut1 There are still some parts that are under work. We have not been able to receive Figure 1 from one of the authors. Some terms used in our research site are in Finnish for the same reason.

Rev1 I could see that some parts of this were still a bit rough, but as I said, I did my best!

The referee feedback the authors had received required "a significant revision made to your manuscript before publication" (Editor's comments to Author 1, decision document). The comments the authors had received from peer review were mostly concerned with the quality and clarity of argumentation as well as the paper's structure.

Three out of four gatekeepers (three referees and a guest editor) brought up language issues in their evaluations. The language-related feedback was very general, but none suggested that the authors employ language support services to improve the paper. The negative feedback which was directly related to language was about avoiding repetition and restructuring the paper. Extract 44 illustrates how some of the language-related feedback was formulated in the decision document.

Extract 44.

Ref1 The narrative and argument is repetitive at times. The title and abstract are appropriate and clear.

Ref3 Communication is clear overall, with some statements that are not entirely clear and some sections that could potentially be restructured to read more fluently - for example the concept dev't and methods sections.

The authors also received positive language-related comments from referee 2. The guest editor did not comment on the language.

Extract 45.

Ref2 This is a clearly written paper that flows well from beginning to end. The title and abstract are appropriate.

As noted, most of the comments the authors received in the decision document were about argumentation and structure. In the decision document, the referees and the guest editor seem to all agree that the paper needed to be more explicit in its focus and description of the research process.

Extract 46.

GuestEd [A]t present the description of the case is at too generic a level.

Ref1 Also in terms of writing, be aware of relying too much on only one or two sources to support arguements [sic] and the amount of text which is taken from sources. Literature review requires critical thinking and synthesis of your own ideas in relation to what is already published.

The research design is not robust. We are not given enough information of when interviews were conducted and for how long each interview was given. It is not clear what is meant by 'themed interviews' and whether the theme from the interviews were developed as part of the questions being asked or were drawn out during analysis. We do not know if the documents collected formed part of the analysis.

Ref2 [T]he conclusions should be further elaborated to lead readers to motivations and methods for adopting the type of "partial step-wise integration" discussed in the final paragraph of the conclusions. This last paragraph seems to me to be the real heart of the lessons learned, and I was left with a desire to see more detail on this lesson and on how it might be solved.

Ref3 Implications are listed, but this part needs to be more convincing in that it is still not entirely clear how the implications and practical recommendations are derived from the study. This also needs to link back to the discussion which is missing at the moment.

Although some of the comments mention “writing” or “clarity” as something that the referees and guest editor deem as problematic, none of the issues raised by the gatekeepers fall under the language revisor’s domain.

After peer review, the authors made substantial revisions to the manuscript. The only sections that remained roughly the same were the analysis sections. Some of the referees called for more detailed analysis, and some also suggested that the findings’ relationship to previous research could be addressed in the discussion section. The authors decided to follow up on the latter suggestion (as was evident in the Track changes version of the manuscript available for analysis).

Revisor 1’s authors’ editing proceeded as any other authors’ editing commission. Revisor 1 did not introduce significant changes into the text but did initiate some negotiation over the clarity and readability of the text (example 33) and informed the authors about an unconventional and inconsistent referencing style (example 34).

Example 33.
The terms [concept 1], [concept 2] and even [concept 3] adopt an 'external' viewpoint of introducing [acronym 1] into [acronym 2] activities. This is, of course, a legitimate point of view. It, however, having a promotional nature ([references]) risks ignoring the realities of the [acronym 2] practitioners ([self-reference]).
Revisor 1 comment: Not clear what "it" refers to here.

Example 34.
[name] & al. (2013 and 2014)
Revisor 1 comment: You should probably check to see if this journal prefers & al. or et al. Usually, it is et al. that is preferred.
For example, [name] et al. (2012, 439)
Revisor 1 comment: Also – make sure that all of these are written in the same way.

Most of Revisor 1's interventions were typical for authors' editing in the Unit. Revisor 1 did not seem to see a need for taking more responsibility in helping the authors to communicate their ideas, nor did anyone indicate that they should. The interventions were mostly introduced as direct interventions and focused on similar issues as the interventions in a typical authors' editing process. Revisor 1 introduced verbs that upgraded the register, simplified complex clausal constructions, introduced prepositions and cohesive elements, and systematized the use of tenses. The cohesive devices Revisor 1 added in the discussion section introduced elements that most likely aid the reader to distinguish whose ideas or words are entextualized into the manuscript (Example 35).

Example 35.
The **subjects of that study recognized the** potential of [acronym 1] as **a** future technology ~~was recognized~~, but it was difficult **for** ~~to~~ them to specify how [acronym 1] could be used **in** ~~for~~ a way that would be useful in their ongoing practice.

Some of Revisor 1's interventions might have been helpful in facilitating the successful submission that followed since they ended up in final published paper. Most of the referees' and guest editor's suggested revisions, even when language-related, were not framed generally as problems with the language and the referees made no suggestions for the authors to solicit language help. The issues raised in the referee feedback were not considered Revisor 1's responsibility, neither by the authors nor by the language revisor themself. The analysis of the text trajectory on "Roles" shows that language-related feedback, if worded explicitly enough, does not necessarily trigger any changes in the roles assigned for each actor. Detailed enough feedback helps each of the actors to contribute to the text production process in ways that do not create turbulence in the distribution of responsibilities. If, however, the feedback on

language is vague, the participatory roles might need to be renegotiated as I demonstrate in the analysis of the text trajectory on "Activity".

8.2.2 TEXT TRAJECTORY ON "ACTIVITY"

This text trajectory differs from the other TT on "Roles" in many respects. Unlike the authors of the TT discussed above, the lead author (Lead author) of TT on "Activity" is an early career researcher who co-authored the paper with their advisor. The paper was submitted to a special issue in an English-medium journal. The data that were available for analysis consisted of:

- Four and a half versions of the manuscript (three and a half authors' edited versions and the final published version)
- Email correspondence consisting of 73 emails (47 emails between Lead author and Revisor 2; 15 emails between Lead author and the editors of the special issue; 11 emails between Lead author and the second author)
- interview with Lead author
- relevant entries in Lead author's research diary (55 pages in total).

The article in the TT was Lead author's second English-medium journal article, but at the time of writing this article, the first paper had not been published yet. Co-authoring the paper with the second author had been planned long before the actual writing process began. However, before negotiating a formal agreement on co-authoring, Lead author wanted to develop a rough draft of the text. The writing process was difficult for Lead author, they felt like they were "bad at English" (Lead author's diary entry 28 September 2017) which is why they began the writing process by drafting the content in Finnish.

In November 2017, Lead author had written the first draft in Finnish and had begun translating the text into English. During the fall of 2017, Lead author had had intensive consultation with their advisor (Second author), but the formal agreement was not negotiated until 3 November 2017 via email, at which point the first version of the English manuscript was nearly finished. The second author offered to comment on the manuscript before first submission, but due to time pressures Lead author did not have time to wait for Second author's comments before submitting the paper for peer review. After submitting the first version, Lead author sent the manuscript to Second author who commented on the text and agreed to join the paper as second author. Lead author had agreed with the editors of the special issue that modifications could be made to the manuscript after submission. After submitting the first version of the article, Lead author sent the manuscript to authors' editing in the Unit. Importantly, this same first version of the article was peer reviewed and authors' edited at the same time.

In the beginning of December, the authors received the decision from the editorial board. The decision recommended publication, but on two conditions: "I will recommend the manuscript to be published with some

elaboration (not in terms of corrections, but in terms of some deepening of the issues raised), and (important) with corrections based on consultation with a native speaker" (Decision document). The issues raised in the decision document concerned further development of the second research question and more active engagement with the theoretical literature in the discussion.

Extract 47.

Ref4: There are two research questions. The first fits the material and the method. The second might be developed more. […] The results are described sufficiently, but should (as already pointed out) be discussed a bit more.

In the decision document, language is only mentioned briefly (see the comments above), but in an email that Lead author received from the special issue editorial board, language issues, as well as other, detailed recommendations were raised. The feedback Lead author received from the editors of the special issue was much more detailed (it included a list of 15 items) than the peer review comments, and the stance they adopted was more critical. The email from the special issue's editorial board opens with "We see very much potential in your article and hope that you will work with your article further". The editors also include in the email general information on how the submission proceeds. The information included a requirement to have the article "language checked" by "a native language check center etc". The editorial board underlined the importance of the language work that still needed to be done and required Lead author to "forward us some proof that the language check has taken place". The editors of the special issue note that a "language check" was not required of the first submitted version since the reviews could potentially introduce drastic changes. For the final submitted version, however, the journal would "require flawless English". The general information concludes by stating: "Please note that the Journal may still reject an individual article or the whole proposal".

A week after receiving the first referee feedback, Revisor 2 sent Lead author the authors' edited document of the first version of the manuscript. The next section outlines and analyses the contributions of Revisor 2 during the first and second round of authors' editing, while the remaining sections are devoted to exemplifying in detail what happens during and after the third round of authors' editing. These later rounds of editing were carried out after Revisor 2 was notified of problems in the language of the second version of the manuscript that had already been authors' edited twice.

First round of authors' editing

To enable comparisons across all versions of the revised manuscript available for analysis, I will focus on the interventions carried out after the introductory sections, since only the latter part of the paper was available for analysis of the second round of authors' editing. All of the authors' edited versions analyzed

in this section were ones Revisor sent to Lead author, i.e. in which both first and second reads had been fused to one version.

Revisor 2 introduced interventions that concerned issues ranging from correctness and conventionality to communicability, i.e. Revisor 2's authors' editing covered all the aspects of language quality identified in Ch. 7. The interventions resemble those found in Ch. 7 and seem typical for authors' editing in the Unit. Revisor 2 introduced the vast majority of all interventions directly into the text, although there were some issues that Revisor 2 intervened in through the combination and indirect intervention strategies. In other words, the first round of authors' editing proceeded in a fashion typical in the Unit.

Revisor 2 did, however, initiate quite a number of negotiations and invited the author to get back in case there was something they wanted to discuss further: "please get back in touch if you want to iron out any problems, or if you just have a question. I'll do my best to answer" (Revisor 2, email to Lead author). Below are examples of such negotiation.

Example 36.
"on the seventh meeting of the course […]. Before the 7th meeting, the participants"
Revisor 2 comment 1: here, you write out the number.
Revisor 2 comment 2: but here, you use the numeral. You should decide to use one style, where it is common to write the number out in words, if less than and up to ten.

Example 37.
"h**is**~~er~~ [actor] respond**s to** this by taking him ~~o~~**i**n [their] arms
Revisor 2 comment 1: the [person] is male?
Revisor 2 comment 2: male also here.

One of the negotiations Revisor 2 initiated concerns the use of the pronoun "we" in the manuscript (Example 38).

Example 38.
Next ~~we~~ **I** will focus on the [action] during the [name of the] activity.
Revisor 2 comment: Here your unspoken referent for "we" is you the author and the reader, correct? It's safer not to include the reader; it's not wrong, but you need to be careful not to over-use it.

Revisor 2 introduced the intervention through a combination strategy. Revisor 2 changed the pronoun "we" into the pronoun "I" since Revisor 2 had been under the impression that Lead author was writing the manuscript alone. Eight days later, Lead author replied to Revisor 2 and told them

> [s]o far I don't have any questions. I just realized you couldn't know that I have been writing the article together with one of my supervisors. So, using a pronoun 'we' refers to both of us.

In their research diary, in an entry dated close to Christmas, Lead author describes negotiating with Second author over the phone. Together they decided how to respond to the referee feedback and how to incorporate the suggestions into the manuscript. During the Christmas break, Lead author proceeded by going through the revisions made by Revisor 2. At the beginning of January 2018, Lead author began to introduce modifications into the manuscript as recommended by the referees and according to the discussions Lead author had had with Second author. The deadline was approaching when Lead author got sick. Lead author still proceeded to work on the manuscript, but soon realized that the second version of the manuscript would not be ready early enough to be able to go through authors' editing before the second submission deadline. Six days before the deadline, Lead author contacted the editors of the special issue to ask for an extension so that they would be able to have the paper authors' edited before submission. An extension of eight days was granted. Lead author was still in a hurry to incorporate all modifications and decided to divide the manuscript into two so that they could deliver the first part into authors' editing while still working on the latter. The analysis in the next section presents my analysis of the latter part of the second version of the manuscript.

Second round of authors' editing

In the second week of January, Lead author sent an email to Revisor 2, and started negotiating a new round of authors' editing for the manuscript after having integrated the revisions suggested by the editors of the special issue. Lead author did not specifically mention any problems the editors would have raised in relation to language issues, nor did Revisor 2 have access to the official decision document Lead author had received from the editors.

Lead author sent the first part of the second version of the article to authors' editing during the second week of January, and the latter part on 15 January. The deadline for Lead author to submit the new version of the manuscript to the journal was 23 January.

Lead author had tried to facilitate the second round of revision by marking new text in purple. Revisor 2 processed and made changes directly into these sections, but also to other, unmarked stretches of text. What is notable in the second round of authors' editing is the fact that both Lead author and the language revisor initiated negotiations over potentially problematic elements in the text.

Example 39.
the [participants] express that
Lead author comment: express or expressed?
Revisor 2 comment: You can also write: "said that…"; both "express" and "expressed" would be fine in this context, because you use present tense throughout.

Example 40.
[concept] can ~~also~~ include also a personal relationship with [actor] ([name] et al. **YEAR?**), or other transcendent.
Revisor 2 comment: This is an adjective. Normally, adjectives modify a noun. If you prefer not to write "or other transcendent being", then you could leave the phrase off altogether. Unless you meant to write: "or transcendent other".

On 18 January, Revisor 2 had finished authors' editing the manuscript and sent it to Lead author for a final check. On 19 January, Lead author thanked Revisor 2 for a "careful and quick revision", but introduced a concern: the author's supervisors and seminar group had pointed out that Lead author had exceeded the word limit and needed to cut something out. Lead author's advisors had also suggested that Lead author change the title and their research question, and Lead author asked Revisor 2 in an email to help with the new title and the new research question (a combination of the two questions posed originally). Revisor 2 quickly got back to the author and approved of the new title suggestion. The new research question, however, was formulated a bit differently in Revisor 2's revision.

Example 41.
What kind**s** of [action] ~~is happening~~ **does one find** in the context of **the** [acronym of the] activity?

The suggestions address correctness (agreement: "what kind**s** of [action]" since there were more than one kind), conventionality (register: "[action] ~~is happening~~ **does one find** in the context") and communicability (demonstratives: "of **the** [acronym of the] activity?" since the name of the activity had been mentioned before).

Lead author incorporated Revisor 2's suggestions into the manuscript and just before the second submission, added a couple of quotes from the data and a bit of theory. After submission, Lead author decided to verify the language of the two sentences they added to the analysis section right before submission. Revisor 2 made modifications to both sentences and Lead author decided they needed to have the article authors' edited again after potential additional modifications suggested by the referees in the second round of peer review.

Third round of authors' editing
Four days after the second submission, the editors contacted Lead author and notified that they would read the article during the same week and could potentially suggest further changes. Lead author felt the paper would in any case benefit from being authors' edited for a third time before the next submission, because Lead author had "modified the structure and put some parts in the fewer words after last week" (email to Revisor 2). Lead author inquired from both Revisor 2 and Language revision coordinator about the possibility to have the manuscript authors' edited for the third time.

At this point, Lead author did not know the exact time when they would be able to send the paper to Revisor 2 but suspected it would be "during February". Revisor 2 emailed back after 20 minutes saying they "will do my best to meet your final deadline in February, if possible. I'll pencil you in for "February" sometime". Revisor 2 had already taken up two other papers that were "lined up till mid-February", but wanted to help Lead author's article get accepted even if it meant they themselves had to work longer hours: "I'm flexible".

Six days after the second submission, the editors of the special issue contacted Lead author and noted that "the quality has increased". The peer review feedback was again mostly favorable, and recommended publication with "minor corrections". The peer review feedback addressed language once by stating the paper employed a "[n]ot very academic writing style". However, the editors still had some additional concerns and the email sent to Lead author contained a list of 18 items of issues the authors should revise before next submission. In the feedback, language was taken up twice. The editors urged that "all changes should be proof-read by a qualified English professional". In addition, one of the items on the list of corrections stated: "The language needs quite a bit work. Concentrate on expressing one thing at a time to maintain clarity". These comments were made even when the editors of the special issue knew the manuscript had already been authors' edited. Especially the latter comment caused anxiety in Lead author and Revisor 2 as I illustrate below.

During the first days of February, Lead author negotiated with Second author how they would respond to the corrections suggested by the referees and editors of the special issue. Lead author was beginning to grow exhausted by the list of demands sent by the editors. During the days that followed, Lead author made the required modifications to the text and sent it to Revisor 2 on February 6.

Lead author asked Revisor 2 to edit the language of the "last version of the manuscript of our article". Lead author explained in an email that

> [t]he last comments from the editors came last week and we have done changes according to them. The schedule is very tight. The deadline is on Friday (9th February)!

The time for authors' editing was extremely tight – only three days. Within these three days, Revisor 2 needed to do the authors' editing and the author(s) needed to go through and incorporate Revisor 2's suggestions into the manuscript. Lead author assured that they could ask the editors to give more time if needed in order to have the manuscript authors' edited. Some parts of the text, however, had already been authors' edited by Revisor 2. But since the authors had to make the text shorter and make changes, they feared they might have introduced "mistakes" in cutting the text down. The authors had produced new text as well, which they had highlighted for Revisor 2's convenience by marking it with red. In an email accompanying the

commission, Lead author introduced the second language-related comment they received from the editors:

> One of the comments of the editors was:
> -The language needs quite a bit work. Concentrate on expressing one thing at a time to maintain clarity.

Lead author did not seem to hold Revisor 2 accountable for the language issues, since immediately after presenting the editors' comment they say: "Please, let me know if you find some sentences that are difficult to understand. I'll try to make them clearer". Lead author seemed to hold themselves responsible for the potential problems in the text, not Revisor 2.

Revisor 2 replied within the same day. They reacted to this feedback by indicating:

> The comment you relayed to me from one of the editors of your paper indicates that the problem is not necessarily one of "language", i.e., that the paper still sounds like it's written by a foreigner and should be revised by a native speaker for its prepositions, articles, etc. Rather, what this comment indicates to me is that the "***text*** needs quite a bit of work", that is, the "**pacing** of the text"; it needs to be slowed down and opened up more effectively to keep the reader on track, according to that editor.
> This kind of comment, moreover, is alarming. And, honestly, to take into account the editor's suggestion to work on your text in this major way will need more than a couple of days!! There's no way I can manage this by the deadline of 9 February. Can this deadline be extended by a couple of weeks, say till 23.2.?
> When you get in touch with them, just tell them that they have asked you to open up the text to allow for more concentration on expressing "one thing at a time for clarity's sake". Say that in order to do this, you'll need a two-week extension. (emphasis original)

Furthermore, Revisor 2 suggested they meet "as soon as possible" with Lead author to discuss how to proceed. 20 minutes later, Lead author replied that they had tried calling the editor who did not pick up. Lead author suggested a time for the meeting. Lead author also speculated on reasons for why the feedback was worded the way that it was:

> The editors are Finnish-speaking, so I am not sure about their ability to evaluate the language. The board of the journal will read the manuscripts later and accept it or ask to change something if necessary. In this situation, I would think that it is enough to correct clear mistakes. But I will call the editors and ask them. I am sorry about this confused situation.

An hour later, Revisor 2 sent another email to Lead author to tell them the latest version of the manuscript seemed good. Revisor 2 says they "find the additions to be very reasonable. I also think you've made an effort to be clear". Revisor 2 proceeded to set the date and time for the meeting – Lead author and Revisor 2 met to discuss the manuscript after office hours two days later.

On 7 February, Lead author had heard back from one of the editors of the special issue. The editor had taken a quick look through the manuscript and said they will read it more thoroughly later. At this point Lead author contacted Revisor 2 to clarify to them that the language in the latest version:

> [W]as a bit clumsy. The flow in the text needed work. It seemed that the sub-chapters consist of (almost) separate paragraphs following each other. So the feedback was more about the content than the language. (email forwarded to Revisor 2 by the lead author)

On the same day, Revisor 2 forwarded to me the correspondence with Lead author. In their email Revisor 2 explained to me how they thought about the editor's feedback and what they understand their role in the process to be. Email to HMP:

> As promised, I forward now one whole discussion with [Lead author]. This concerns the editor's comment on [their] article:
> The language needs quite a bit work. Concentrate on expressing one thing at a time to maintain clarity".
> [Their] comment "on expressing one thing at a time to maintain clarity", however, is not about "language" per se.
> Seizing on this, I gave my feedback in a following email, also below. When [Lead author] finally reached the journal and asked what was meant, actually, it wasn't about "language", as I said, but rather about the pacing and "flow" of the text: its content.
> So, at first, the client was in a panic and perhaps thinking that my work was not adequate. But, there is only so much we can do with these texts! We cannot read for typos and linguistic clarity, while simultaneously reading for overall flow and pacing of the text in terms of its content. That is not our remit. This is why we are not editors. If this were the case, we'd have to be listed as co-authors of these sorts of texts.

Immediately after receiving the first negative feedback on language (as forwarded to Revisor 2 by Lead author), Revisor 2 seemed to think Lead author might assign some of the blame on them for the language issues. While there is no indication that Lead author was blaming anyone other than themselves for the language issues still lingering in the text, the non-specific negative language-related feedback Revisor 2 was forwarded most likely triggered the subsequent re-negotiation over their role in the text production process. During the course of the third round of editing, Revisor 2 adopted a more assertive role in introducing changes into the manuscript (as will be exemplified below).

On 13 February, Revisor 2 sent Lead author the authors' edited manuscript. This time, Revisor 2 indicated in their email that they had tried a different approach, or rather, an additional approach to typical authors' editing, and had tried to embody an editorial role during the third round of authors' editing:

> I have gone through it very carefully and thoroughly - and I also stepped back from it as best I could, too. So, some of my suggestions for revision are from an editor's point of view. However, I clearly note that these "edits" arrive as suggestions, so as not to overstep my role in the revision process. You have the final say.
> Anyway, the editors may be a bit more satisfied with this version. Go over my suggestions carefully. I will do my best to respond to any of your problems or questions. But, I'm rather busy with other deadlines.... I will sincerely do my best.

Revisor 2 explicitly stated that, during this third round of authors' editing, they were going to go beyond what was expected of them as a language revisor, and cautioned the author to take the "edits" as coming from someone that is typically not in a position to offer them. The role the language revisor adopted was clearly a reaction to the negative language-related feedback Lead author had received from the editors. Below I will demonstrate what the new role looks like in practice.

Example 42.
Original: Nevertheless, there is a lack of empirical research concerning nurturing [concept] in [a period of a person's life]. In this empirical study, the research question is:
Revisor 2 comment: If I may suggest something here, to make this transition less blunt (in addressing the editor's concerns), consider this: "Nevertheless, there is a lack of empirical research concerning nurturing [concept] in [a period of a person's life]. **To help fill this gap, the question that this empirical study asks:** What kinds of [action]…"

In this intervention into communicability, Revisor 2 offered a way to make the article's contribution more explicit to the reader. Revisor 2 stated in their comment that the intervention was to make the text adhere to the suggestion issued by the editorial board – to "express one idea at the time". In this example it meant that the idea introduced in the first sentence of Example 42 was repeated in the following sentence but with a different wording (there is a lack of empirical research – to help fill this gap (…) this empirical study). The example illustrates how Revisor 2 created more cohesion into the text by paraphrasing and repeating the idea already introduced by the authors. The intervention was introduced with hedging: "If I may suggest something here…" which seems to function as a polite way of notifying the authors of the potential problems in text flow still prevalent after the authors' own revisions.

Example 43.
Original: The activity was led by a team of two instructors: one [carried out an activity], while the other one was near the [actors] and [other actors] with [an object] in her arms**, so she could help guide the activity**.

Rev2 comment: It occurred to me that you leave this without much explanation. My goal on this reading is to try and spot places in your text where

you could "open it up", such as here: why was the other instructor located near the [actors] and [other actors] "with [an object] in her arms"? I suggest that you could complete this sentence, after a comma, by saying: "so she could help guide the activity". It's just a suggestion; if you wish to say something slightly different, please formulate this in a way that expresses the other instructor's role in holding [an object] in her arms near the [actors] and [other actors].

In example 43 Revisor 2 again introduced an addition to the authors' original text. This time Revisor 2 added an entire subordinate clause offering an explanation and interpreting the depicted activities. In their comment, Revisor 2 shows more signs of hedging ("My goal is … to try to"; "you could"; "it's just a suggestion" etc.). This seems to indicate that these kinds of interpretative additions fall even further from the scope of normal authors' editing (as illustrated in chapter 7) than the paraphrasing exemplified in example 42.

To aid in the analysis of text histories, Lillis and Curry (2010, pp. 89–91) have developed a methodological tool for tracking changes made across drafts (discussed in chapter 2). Lillis and Curry use this tool in their study (2010) to tease out the contribution of the different actors taking part in the publication process. According to them (2010, p. 112), most of the changes introduced by language professionals would fall under the category "sentence-level changes/corrections: to sentence level syntax, vocabulary, grammar, spelling, punctuation". While my findings support this claim and most of the interventions I observed the language revisors introduce to texts occurred on the sentence level, I think there was more to the interventions I found taking place in the TT on "Activity" than the examples Lillis and Curry provide. Even as sentence level interventions, they clearly demonstrate that Revisor 2 is taking on some of the responsibilities normally allocated to academic brokers. In example 42, those are ones that Lillis and Curry (2010 pp. 89–91) call "positioning: explicit reference to position of paper/research in relation to field/discipline/journal". In example 43, Revisor 2 is clearly going beyond their normal service, however, the intervention they introduced is more difficult to place on typology developed by Lillis and Curry (2010). Out of the alternatives (see 2.2.3), the interventions seems to best fit under the category: "argument: claims, evidence, warrants, what is foregrounded, backgrounded".

What is notable compared to both the typical interventions introduced through negotiation during the previous rounds of authors' editing as well as those that occurred in chapter 7 (and in TT on "Roles") are the extensive explanations Revisor 2 provided to justify the necessity of these more assertive interventions. The function of the explanations is most likely to hedge the assertiveness of the interventions since these interventions leaned more heavily towards the content domain, and to offer the author a sense of agency and ownership over the words and verbalization of ideas actually produced by the language revisor.

Further negotiation via email

After going through Revisor 2's suggestions in mid-February, Lead author wrote in their personal research diary an entry praising Revisor 2 for their contribution to the manuscript: "[Revisor 2] has made numerous wonderful clarifications and additions that make the text better". Lead author also emailed Revisor 2 to thank them for going the extra mile with the manuscript: "Thank you for your wonderful work! Especially your suggestions about paraphrasing some parts were very relevant". The liberties Revisor 2 took in adopting a more extensive role seemed to have paid off and the suggestions were added to the manuscript as such. A day later Lead author emailed Revisor 2 again and said they had "done almost all the changes you suggested" and solicited further assistance with new editor feedback. Lead author also asked Revisor 2 to revise the additions Lead author had inserted to make the text more aligned with the editorial suggestions (they used purple color to indicate new text). The author sent the modified text via email body text, not as an attachment as had been done up to this point, and Revisor 2 conducted the authors' editing through email as well. One of the editors had asked for parts of the abstract and introduction to be revised (below is a part of an English language email one of the editors wrote to Lead author):

> Add: "Initial results" (or similar) after the title of your manuscript as the results of your study seem very preliminary because the analysis does not seem to have been very thorough. This should affect the wording in your opening sentence (such as: "to present initial results from…" Use this phrasing also in your discussion.
>
> (Editor email, forwarded to Revisor 2 by Lead author)

What the editor seems to be calling upon is a way to communicate to the reader the exploratory nature of the analysis, i.e. that the implications of the findings in their opinion do not seem apparent from the analysis in its current form. The editor does not seem to consider this a problem as such, as much as the fact that the nature of the findings is not communicated clearly enough to the future audience. The suggestion the editors made was to include more epistemic modality by framing the results as "initial" or "preliminary" from the very start.

As a reaction to the feedback, Lead author added text to the abstract, the introductory section and the discussion. Lead author incorporated the most substantial additions into the first paragraphs of the discussion section. The additions consist of three sentences. The additions were brought on by the editors' additional comment related to the discussion of the findings:

> **The editors also said:** "The first and fourth [action] type are the most interesting ones in light of your focus. Highlight these two before beginning the discussion as the discussion focuses on these two elements anyway"
>
> (email to Revisor 2, emphasis original)

Lead author also noted, "I tried to add some from this perspective". As Revisor 2 authors' edited the sections via email, they made an effort to take the feedback into account. In example 44 below, Revisor 2 again demonstrates how the text could be "slowed down" to "express one idea at the time".

Example 44.
Especially the first and the fourth types of [action] seem **particularly** important from the perspective of [concept 1] and [concept 2] development~~,~~**.** ~~but~~ **Briefly, what this preliminary analysis uncovers is the meaningful layer of [adjective]** ~~also the~~ [action] with other participants and instructors **that** might nurture [concept 1] in this special context **as well**.

In example 44, Revisor 2 introduces all the interventions, some of which are extensive, as direct interventions. The reason for this is that email as a medium for authors' editing is constrained compared to Microsoft Word and does not include a commenting function. Revisor 2, however, also wrote a lengthy email to accompany the interventions they introduced. The body text in the email is almost completely dedicated to explaining one of interventions that makes a substantial addition to the knowledge content of the sentence. I will first discuss the minor interventions and their relation to the editorial feedback before moving on to examine the intervention into knowledge content in detail.

Up until this point, the editors had asked the authors to 1) express one idea at a time, 2) hedge findings by framing them as initial or preliminary and 3) highlight the most interesting findings. By looking at example 44, it is apparent that Revisor 2 is trying to incorporate all these aspects of the feedback into the sentence. The first noticeable intervention is that Revisor 2 breaks the sentence into two thus slowing the pace of the text. Another is that Revisor 2 inserts the word "preliminary", adopted straight from the editorial feedback, into the beginning of the second sentence. Yet another intervention aligning the sentence more towards the third editorial suggestion is the first addition Revisor 2 introduces by inserting the booster "particularly" (the first line in example 44). Finally, the longest individual addition found in the example seems to combine all the points suggested in the editorial feedback, but it has yet another contribution to the overall knowledge content in the stretch of text. By adding the clause "what this preliminary analysis uncovers is the meaningful layer of [adjective] [action]" Revisor 2 is again interpreting the significance of the findings and building an argument on the authors' behalf in a way that clarifies the contribution of the paper to the field of research. Below, in extract 48, Revisor 2 explains to Lead author why they ended up making the addition (emphasis original).

Extract 48.

> What you've discovered is really important, in my view. Your discovery actually participates in a new kind of research in the West that began to emerge in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. This research has begun to show the

> characteristic "nature" of connection between the individual and the group, which differs from ancient Greek philosophy, underpinning Western science and philosophy (i.e., the traditionally taught divide between **[concept 3]** vs. **[concept 4]** in the social sciences). I know something about this, because it was part of my research [...].
> That is, what your research does, in my view, is to reveal the *contradiction* in this **traditional divide between [concept 3] & [concept 4]**. In your research, by contrast, what happens to the individual is *not independent of* but, rather, dependent on the group; likewise, what happens to the group is *not independent of* but, rather, dependent on the individual over time and process (here you call it "participation").
> What this indicates to me is that you've tapped into an "ecological principle" at work here that examines the group as a unique interdependent social system, whose principle attribute is that of "circularity" (interdependence), a characteristic feature that your work reveals as a new way *to examine [concept 1]*. Perhaps this is what the editors sense, and why they wish you to focus on it.

As is observable from extract 48, Revisor 2 provided an extensive explanation to justify the addition they introduced to the manuscript. What is more, the explanation not only justified the more extensive intervention, but also highlights how the authors' findings could establish a novel intellectual contribution to their field, and that these findings should potentially be emphasized more decisively. This might seem like a minor detail in the scope of the entire manuscript, but it was not the only knowledge content contribution initiated by Revisor 2 in the TT on "Activity".

What all Revisor 2's interventions into the knowledge content of the paper have in common is that they go beyond a typical scope of interventions in authors' editing. This is despite that the interventions I exemplified above introduced changes only at the sentence level. It might be somewhat misleading to talk about sentence level interventions at all since all kinds of interventions, be they introduced by academic brokers or language brokers, have to eventually be entextualized into the texts at the sentence level. In my understanding, the level at which the interventions occur is not as important for distinguishing between different types of brokering. Rather, more relevant for analyzing the interventions of different brokers is the extent to which the interventions require interpretation of meaning and understanding of the research context. In the light of the findings I presented in Ch. 7, a typical authors' editing aims to make the text as correct, conventional, and accessible as possible without making any substantial modifications to the actual content. In a typical scenario in the Unit's authors' editing, and in the earlier TT on "Roles", the language revisor is reluctant to cross that line. At times, the Unit's language revisors also introduced somewhat extensive additions in the typical authors' editing process, but often to repeat phrases the authors had already introduced in other parts of the text. Sometimes the typical authors' editing in the Unit also substituted words or longer phrases, but even then it was most often done to conventionalize the text (e.g., to intervene in

collocation or wordiness) and make the text more aligned with correctness standards (e.g. to replace prepositions).

The examples that illustrate Revisor 2's contributions during the third round of authors' editing and the email correspondence into which it extended show how Revisor 2 gradually takes on more and more responsibilities as a response to the suggestions initiated by the other actors in the process. In the examples above, Revisor 2 took on some of the authors' responsibilities as they produced *novel verbalizations* of the ideas that were present in the text but were in a form that was difficult for a reader to process (cf. the first editorial feedback). In addition, the verbalizations Revisor 2 produced were not only to make the existing content easier to process, they were also making an intellectual contribution by positioning the paper (example 42), by interpreting the data (example 43), as well as by making abstractions and analytical generalizations of both (example 44).

In addition, Revisor 2 also took on some of the gatekeepers' responsibilities, especially after Lead author had received feedback from the editors of the special issue on the second version of the manuscript. The language-related negative feedback the editors gave to the authors was vague and nonspecific: "The language needs quite a bit work. Concentrate on expressing one thing at a time to maintain clarity". As the text had already gone through authors' editing, this kind of feedback also put Revisor 2 into an awkward position professionally. To resolve the frustrating situation, Revisor 2 told Lead author to ask the editor to clarify what they meant with the feedback while at the same time offering their own explanation why the editors might have made such comments. As later became evident, Revisor 2's suspicion proved correct. This most likely made Revisor 2 more confident in suggesting extensive changes and Lead author more willing to adopt them. With the intuitive understanding of what the paper lacked, Revisor 2 set out to introduce more drastic interventions than they had before during the first two rounds of authors' editing. In other words, they not only interpreted the wishes the editors expressed, but also implemented those into the text.

Epilogue

Revisor 2's contribution in the forging of the paper into its final form did not go unacknowledged by Lead author. During the email correspondence right before the final submission, Lead author repeatedly sought Revisor 2's guidance and opinion, not only in language-related questions, but also on content issues. At one point, Lead author even asked Revisor 2 to help them make sense of a stretch of theoretical text Lead author's advisor (the co-author) had sent Lead author without elaborating on what its purpose in the manuscript would be. This and other help Lead author received from Revisor 2 were welcomed gratefully:

> You have not only been correcting and editing my text but you have been thinking and understanding it! Great! I am touched! Thank you for the perspectives you gave and your encouraging words.

> It has been a long journey with this article. You really helped me to make this article much better than it was in November. <3 I am very grateful.

The extensive involvement of Revisor 2 in the process of writing the article and aligning it with the gatekeeper feedback seems somewhat exceptional. It seems that the more substantial role of the language revisor was brought on by a number of factors. Revisor 2 seems to have a personal preference to engage in and initiate negotiations with authors. They also do research themself which might have driven them to engage intellectually and given them grounds to intervene more extensively. In addition, Lead author was a junior scholar who did not have much experience in writing English-medium articles or publishing them in journals. The vulnerability of Lead author's position and circumstances made them most likely more willing to accept all the help they could get. And finally, the editors of the target journal did not provide the authors detailed enough feedback to work out the problems in the text on their own. After the turbulent writing process, the manuscript was accepted for publication at the beginning of March.

The scope of Revisor 2's revision was not a routinized part of the service. In fact, the types of brokering Revisor 2 introduced into the manuscript leaned heavily towards aspects that typically fall under the domain of academic brokers. It is also clear that Revisor 2 was very aware of this. Of course, providing more extensive brokering was only possible because Revisor 2 was to an extent familiar with some of the paradigmatic undercurrents because of their own research. Without their content knowledge, Revisor 2 would not have been able to provide the help the authors needed.

It seems evident that the roles of individual actors are negotiated *vis-à-vis* the roles the other actors adopt or are assigned as part of the process. Besides their own, institutionally assigned roles, the actors can take on some responsibilities from others. In defining the roles and responsibilities that each of the actors covers as part of the practices, it might be analytically wise to focus on how each of them *dynamically* contributes to the interaction in the "trialogue", through which actors both interact and produce the "shared objects" (Paavola and Hakkarainen 2005). What should be defining for their role as part of the text production and publication practices is how successful their actions are in modifying the eventual outcome and entextualizing their acts of language regulation into the text (see also Hynninen, 2020, 2021).

My contribution to the discussion on different types of brokering in English-medium research writing is that authors' editing is not a uniform service that remains the same across contexts even within the Unit. A range of factors can influence what types of brokering activities the language revisors engage in during authors' editing, and their role might even have to be re-negotiated during the course of the process. On the basis of the TT on "Activity" it seems safe to conclude that as a language support service, authors' editing, as it is carried out in the Unit, is modified according to the needs of the individual authors who seek the language revisors' help in getting

manuscripts published. However, I doubt the roles are often renegotiated to such a degree because of financial constraints. Rather than a "one-size-fits-all" service, the authors' editing the Unit's language revisors provide attempts to meet the needs of their clients, even when it might, at times, require them to push the limits of their service.

Furthermore, the analysis on the TT on "Activity" suggests that responsibilities over the production of language quality are distributed across actors participating in the English-medium text production and publication practices. The actors involved in these practices form configurations that are subject to transience – the configurations are in constant state of flux (Lønsmann et al. 2017). Because of the transience in the social configuration, actors partaking in these practices "have to negotiate solutions to shared problems without being able to rely on extensive shared linguistic experience or sociocultural habit" (Mortensen, 2017, p. 272). Furthermore, the transience of the configuration impedes the development of shared practical understandings among the actors taking part in the practices. Even when the language revisors might be familiar with the authors they work with, it is unlikely that the referees remain the same across the different trajectories of individual texts. In some configurations (and text trajectories), the role of the gatekeepers might be more pronounced, while in others, the language professionals might become more involved, and sometimes the authors might not need that much of either type of brokering. In the TT on "Activity" it became evident that the gatekeepers and authors formed a social configuration characterized by a limited degree of "overlap in semiotic resources" (Mortensen, 2017, p. 276) which the language revisor was called on to mediate. In the configuration, the language revisor acted as a mediator of indexes, of the ways in which meanings were being created and interpreted, on behalf of both the gatekeepers and the authors. As a result, a "tapestry of voices" (Canagarajah, 2018, p. 281) was eventually entextualized into the manuscript.

9 DISCUSSION

In this final chapter of the thesis, I will first summarize the main findings of each analysis chapter in the light of my research questions. After the summary, I will explain how these findings are relevant in the light of previous research (9.2 and 9.3) and discuss how the ethnographic perspective of this research can contribute to building a theoretical and methodological understanding of language regulation. In section 9.4, I will offer suggestions for future research. As my research falls under the scope of applied linguistics, I also take up some of the practical challenges that I observed during fieldwork and offer some suggestions for practitioners (9.5). Finally, the thesis ends in brief concluding remarks (9.6).

9.1 MAIN FINDINGS REFLECTED IN THE LIGHT OF STUDY OBJECTIVES

My main objective, and first research question, was to try to understand how translators and language revisors regulate the language of the English-medium texts they produce – i.e. how they could be characterized as regulators of academic discourse. This research question formed the major theme of the thesis and runs through the whole book. In addition, I wanted to understand the roles the language professionals were assigned or that they took on as they participated in practices of writing. Conceptualizing language work as language regulation and investigating regulation through the roles the language professionals adopted, in addition to the methodological choices I made, opened up opportunities to investigate the work translators and language revisors do from many different angles – to look at language regulation as processual and discursive as well as a micro- and macro-linguistic phenomenon. These two questions and the different angles from which I approached them were taken up repeatedly in the course of the study, and different aspects received more attention in some chapters than others.

As the community I studied operates in an institutional academic context, I decided to adopt methodological and theoretical approaches that could account for the influence of the setting for the ways in which translation and authors' editing was carried out. Observing the work of language professionals in an institutionalized context and as part of a community created affordances for the study of language regulation as routinized action and warranted a framing of translation and authors' editing in the Unit as institutionalized practices. The practice perspective I adopted for the study of translation and authors' editing highlighted the habitual and routinized distribution of roles and responsibilities – ways of doing, saying and thinking and their socio-material configurations. These routines regularize the actions of translators

and language revisors in the present, but also guide the selection of actions available for them in the future. Next, I summarize the findings of each chapter and discuss those in the light of my research objectives.

In the first analysis chapter (Ch. 4), "The elements of translation and authors' editing", I portrayed the work the language professionals do as institutionalized social practices. Through an emic understanding of the language professionals' ways of working, I described their backgrounds, their ways of working and the tools they use as well as the implications these have on the ways in which translation and authors' editing are being carried out in the community. This chapter began my exploration into how translators and language revisors regulate academic discourse. It formed a backdrop for the analysis chapters that follow and that expand the lines of inquiry set forth in chapter 4. Equipped with knowledge accrued through ethnographic fieldwork and informed by practice theory I zoomed in on the elements of the practices: the competences and materials of translation and authors' editing and analyzed the affordances and constraints they created for ways of working. I provided a detailed description of how text processing software (Microsoft Word), translation memory (Wordfast Classic and Pro), email, online resources and the local guidelines (*Style guide for translators* and *Revisor's guidelines*) are used to organize the work processes, manage cognitively taxing work, store community norms and socialize newcomers and freelancers to the norms of the community. In addition, the differences in competences and materials suggested that, across the members of the English translation team, translation and the language regulation it entailed is more routinized, more coherently organized and shares a higher degree of "practical understanding" as a practice compared to authors' editing.

The following analysis chapters focused on one group of language professionals at a time. Chapter 5, "Translation – a local standard", looked at the practice of translation as a manifest language policy. The analysis addressed one predominant language ideology – the ideology of the standard language. First, I focused on the meanings the translators assign to the development and incorporation of the local standard as these are construed through talk. But since I also wanted to understand how the ideology was constitutive *of* and constituted *in* action, I then depicted how the local ideal materializes itself in the way translation is carried out in the community. I analyzed the different roles and responsibilities the actors are assigned or take on in the creation and maintenance of the standard and showed how materials are used to aid in the storing and deployment of the standard. The analysis draws on interviews, recordings of discussions I had with my participants during fieldwork, fieldwork notes and fieldwork diary entries. I showed how micro-level linguistic decisions made during the translation process that in the beginning have only a very local effect can – as time goes by, gradually accumulate into an institutional standard. As the standard accrued value, it became a language policy that ended up having a much wider scope and

potential to regulate the language of actors who were not even aware that, officially, such a policy did not exist.

Chapter 6 "Translation as the production of an institutional voice" took a closer look at the production of language quality in the translation process and the division of labor between the translators and language revisors. The objectives of this chapter focused both on the way in which translators construe roles for themselves discursively and how these roles manifest on the level of texts. With four text trajectories (containing three versions of the same document), fieldnotes and interview data, I analyzed how each of the actors contribute to language quality production in two regularly translated genres: press releases and degree program curriculum course descriptions.

In the community, most translations are produced collaboratively by two translators and a language revisor. I demonstrate how the genre affects the ways in which the actors produce the translation and intervene in linguistic and textual elements in the texts. Most of the styling is carried out by the first translator, but the two revision phases seem to not only monitor the first translator's contribution but also intervene when necessary. The two revision phases, bilingual and monolingual revision, employ different intervention strategies and the interventions are triggered by somewhat different linguistic and textual elements. The ideals that all three language professionals draw on in the production of the two genres share similarities but are also different. The translation procedure produces press releases that are conventionalized for English-speaking audiences, display larger degrees of cohesive and metadiscursive devices presumed to ease the uptake and form intertextual links to other genres in higher quantities compared to the more formulaic course description genre. In the production of the course descriptions, the language professionals draw from the in-house *Style guide for translators* and the accumulated translation practice stored intertextually in other course descriptions from other degree programs. In this chapter it was evident that the language professionals trialogically negotiate the production of desired indexes, and that earlier enactments of translation and intertextual linkages also become entextualized into the negotiation.

Chapter 7 "Authors' editing – triggers of language regulation" began by analyzing interview data from the point of view of the discursively constructed roles the language revisors take on or assign for themselves in an internationalizing academia. Through the analysis of interviews, recordings, fieldnotes and text trajectories, I set out to analyze what the linguistic or textual elements were that triggered language regulation and what regulatory actions can be identified in the authors' editing process.

I identified tensions in the distribution of roles across the different actors: the authors of the scholarly publications, the language revisors and the management level issuing policies all create boundaries and limit ways of working. I also demonstrated how the tensions can be observed at the level of micro-linguistic detail. I discovered that the language revisors use distinct strategies to intervene in texts. I showed how the process of authors' editing

was typically divided temporally into two distinct phases, and that the interventions introduced during these phases were both qualitatively and quantitatively different. By looking at frequencies, it became evident that most interventions were introduced during the first read, but there were notable differences in how frequently the language revisors introduced interventions. The analysis also identified distinct strategies the language revisors employed to introduce changes. The selection of the strategy depended on how confident the language revisor was in making the intervention – the interventions introduced straight into the text with Word's track changes function were found to be more authoritative than ones introduced with the comment function. The analysis of text trajectories exemplified that the language revisors were more confident in intervening in, for example, the use of prepositions or word order while more hesitant to introduce changes into, e.g., cohesion and text-external reference, even when they considered them necessary, and this tension was resolved by introducing changes more indirectly as comments. My conclusion was that in English-medium scholarly text production, interventions into language quality can be divided into categories distinguishable by their function. These were the aspects of language quality I labelled as correctness, conventionality and communicability. The maintenance of the different aspects of quality are either more clearly the language revisors' responsibility or fall more pronouncedly under the responsibilities of the authors of the manuscripts.

Chapter 8 "Renegotiating the role of the language revisor" aimed to broaden the mainstream understanding of authors' editing by picking up some of the same lines of inquiry established in chapter 7. In order to conceptualize authors' editing as a practice that is tightly interwoven with other practices of knowledge creation, I incorporated into the analysis the evaluative language-related comments made by referees and the uptake the academic and language brokering stirred in authors. The data consisted of two text trajectories consisting of several versions of two scholarly papers, email correspondence, decision documents, one of the authors' research diary and interview data. Most of the chapter focused on investigating how evaluative gatekeeper feedback on language can trigger a need to renegotiate the role of the language revisor.

Having established in chapter 7 what typical authors' editing is like in the community I studied, I wanted to understand what was going on in these rare but undeniably challenging situations that the language revisors perceived as questioning their expertise. I found that sometimes the language revisor doing authors' editing for the paper reacted to the feedback by broadening their initial scope of interventions to include textual elements that are not defined as their responsibility. Because of the transience in the social configurations in which knowledge creation takes place, I argued that the roles of individual actors are negotiated *vis-à-vis* the role the other actors adopt or are assigned as part of the process. The text trajectories also demonstrate that authors'

editing, too, involves trialogues in which a complex entanglement of people and artefacts participate in the text production process.

9.2 CONTRIBUTIONS TO EXISTING LINES OF INQUIRY

My research operates at the intersection of different lines of inquiry. The common denominator in the different strands of research has been a call for an increased focus on practices (see e.g., Pennycook, 2010; Blommaert, 2005; Bonacina-Pugh, 2012; Koskinen, 2008; Olohan, 2021). Often these propositions have also advocated for research to be carried out with an ethnographic methodology. In the discussion that follows, I will outline how my ethnographic research on translation and authors' editing as language regulatory practices could contribute to some strands of research carried out in these fields.

Academic literacy studies and research on language revisors. Academic literacy studies has for a while now embraced practice-oriented approaches and conceptualized academic writing as a social practice. Recent studies have also incorporated socio-material perspectives into the study of academic writing (e.g. Tusting et al., 2019). However, even when academic literacy studies have understood writing as networked activity, some actors' contributions to the text production process have been more thoroughly investigated than others. Lillis and Curry (2010), for example, distinguish between literacy and language brokers; their analysis of the roles of these actors in text production processes, however, privileges the contributions of academic brokers. They are content to note that the changes introduced by language professionals (referring to authors' editors) are considered useful by authors even though they most commonly introduce changes at the sentence-level. Later, especially research on language support providers has called for a more thorough investigation into the role of language professionals in academic text production processes (Burgess and Lillis, 2013). I see the analyses presented in chapters 7 and 8 as contributing to this line of inquiry.

If we acknowledge that there are many actors involved in the production and publishing of academic manuscripts, we can begin mapping the contributions the different actors have within these processes. In previous research on authors' editing, the studies focus on categorizing the linguistic changes the revisors introduce to the texts they work with (e.g. Flowerdew and Wang, 2016). Earlier research on authors' editing sees the work as a one-dimensional, individual and predominantly textual activity in which there is a stable ideal that a text should adhere to – an ideal that is automatically known to the language revisor, and which they are able to help authors achieve. In contrast, I view authors' editing as a part of a larger practice, the institutionally situated practice of writing. Authors' editing is a sub-practice in the social practice of academic writing. With ethnographic inquiry focusing especially on the contributions of the language revisors it becomes evident that their role in

authors' editing might not be as clearly defined as earlier research has suggested.

The social practice perspective allows us also to understand how authors' editing work needs to navigate multiple, sometimes conflicting norms of text production. The language revisors need to adhere to, mediate and navigate the linguistic norms of English-medium academic writing with different authors, at different times and in different disciplines. In addition, they also need to take into account norms that set limits on their participation and define their responsibilities within the process. In the social practice paradigm, writing is seen as a complex of social actions that might or might not have shared objectives. As an example, the author's objective might be to establish their argument in a foreign language, the language revisor's to make the text adhere to norms of English-medium academic writing and the referee's objective to ensure the quality of the publication. Ideally, all of these objectives align, but in practice these might not be immediately compatible. Rather, they need to be negotiated through interventions. In academic writing, it should be understood that all of these differently motivated objectives are negotiated through assemblages of linguistic elements that comprise the text and that both the quality of the argument and quality of the language manifest through the linguistic sign. On this basis, it is possible to begin to understand the complexity of the navigation task.

Instead of simply categorizing interventions that language professionals make as additions, omissions, substitutions (Flowerdew and Wang, 2016), or as relating to sentence level syntax, vocabulary or grammar (Lillis and Curry, 2010), we need to ask what purposes the interventions serve and what norms and ideals authors' editing draws on in making the interventions. The latter questions can help us begin to answer questions that have previously remained unexplored. In order to do this, the authors' editing process needs to be contextualized. The contextualization through ethnographic inquiry can lead us to uncover the institutional roles the language revisors occupy as part of academia, how they distribute agency, authority and responsibilities among themselves at different temporal intervals, between themselves and the client, as well as across various forms of technology and other resources.

In chapter 7, I analyzed both the discursively construed roles and responsibilities that are assigned to or taken on by the language revisors performing authors' editing, as well as the linguistic and textual manifestation of these during the authors' editing process. Both analyses suggest that authors' editing might not be as straightforward as previous research has suggested. Unlike the proposal of Lillis and Curry (2010), the language revisors working in the Unit see themselves as consequential actors facilitating the highly competitive enterprise of publishing English-medium manuscripts in international journals. They perceive their role as directly linked to University rankings by helping authors get published in high-ranking journals and win prestigious grants. From the perspective of the language revisors, the editing work they do for authors is highly meaningful not only for the

individual researchers but for their employer as well. However, because of time pressures resulting from the need to streamline the practice, the language revisors have had to change the way they work, for example, to give up on offering face-to-face consultation. The pressures of streamlining and the needs of the language revisors' clients were at odds with one another. I identified discursively construed tensions in the expectations of clients and the language revisors' ability to meet these expectations because of the limits imposed on the service by the Unit administration.

These tensions also manifest on the textual level during the authors' editing process. My analysis identified three distinct aspects of language quality the language revisors targeted during authors' editing: correctness, conventionality and communicability. I also identified three strategies the language revisors used to introduce the interventions (direct, indirect and combination strategies). Based on my analysis of the intervention strategies, I concluded that the aspects of language quality fall on a continuum. Some of the interventions can be managed by the language revisor alone, some can only be addressed collaboratively with the author and some potential problems the revisors can only identify and notify the author of without being able to offer further assistance. In other words, in the production of language quality, responsibilities are distributed across the different actors taking part in the wider practice of English-medium academic writing. After a text has gone through authors' editing, the linguistic repertoire that is entextualized into the manuscript is a joint effort enacted in and emerging from the entanglement of the author and language revisor joining forces. The entanglement comprises of each actor's competences, materials they engage with during writing and the meanings they assign to their own and the other actor's involvement in and for the practice of writing an English-medium publication.

Sometimes the service the language revisors provided went beyond the normal scope, as discussed in chapter 8. Revisor 2 even ended up taking on some of the responsibilities of academic brokers. As has been noted before (Lillis and Curry, 2010, 2015), besides language brokers, there are other actors who regulate language and gatekeep the quality of English-medium publications. Journal editors, guest editors and referees also influence the language of publications. Often their feedback addresses issues that fall in the remit of academic brokers and, as such, are clearly the author's responsibility to remedy, but sometimes perceived problems in positioning, argumentation or structuring are verbalized as abstract negative comments targeting the language of the manuscript. When a paper has already gone through authors' editing prior to submission, such comments put the language revisor in a problematic position. As observed in chapter 8, the language revisor can either keep to the scope of the normal service and communicate their limits to the author to the best of their ability or take a more assertive role and introduce interventions that go beyond typical authors' editing.

These findings further highlight the need to understand the meanings that get entextualized into texts as emergent "in the collective work of distributed

practice" (Canagarajah, 2019, p. 18). As Canagarajah (2019, p. 20) argues, "meanings emerge in the interstices of social networks and material ecologies that are wider than individuals or the human". It is this vibrant entanglement of practices, competences, materials and meanings that prefigures what the individual actions of each participant will eventually entail. Chapter 8 shows how, because of their research background and their affective attunement to the hardships the junior scholar faced during the publication process, Revisor 2 was compelled to embody multiple roles. Revisor 2 took on part of the editors' duties as they translated the abstract feedback into a form the author could respond to. Revisor 2 also took on parts of the author's responsibilities in producing stretches of text that entextualized the missing elements the editors were calling for in their feedback. The paper as the artifact that emerges through these language regulative actions forms a "tapestry of voices" (Canagarajah, 2018, p. 281) that are entextualized into the text because of the engagement of the various actors. What I hope to highlight through the analyses presented in chapters 7 and 8 is that by focusing on the contribution of each actor in detail, we are better equipped to understand how meaningful their participation is in processes of publication.

Language policy studies. As noted by Hynninen (2016, p. 32), language policy and planning studies have typically been more inclined to investigate relationships between languages than to explore questions about what language use should be like in a given context (with the exception of the planning side of LPP studies, see Ch. 2). In chapter 2 I argued that, because the mainstream LPP studies have displayed an interest in educational and minority language settings, and because many of the studies still privilege policy documents (that are mostly concerned with language choice) as the point of departure in the studies, the ways in which policies develop to regulate language quality remain somewhat unexplored (see, however, e.g. Woydack, 2018). But as I demonstrated in the analysis chapters, the regulation of language quality, particularly in written language, can be studied with certain theoretical and methodological tools.

In language policy studies, national and institutional language policy documents have been studied as regulatory instruments that govern the way language(s) can be used in a given context. The mainstream LLP studies' focus has been on top-down regulatory mechanisms (for an overview, see Ricento, 2000), even though research has suggested that the link between policies and actual language practices tends to be far from straightforward (Kuteeva & Airey, 2014; Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). Recently, there have been calls for language policy studies that adopt a grass-roots perspective into policy-making – in developing an understanding of practiced language policies (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012, 2017). Some language policy scholars have carried out ethnographic studies on language policy despite the predominant interest in policy documents and discourses (for a discussion, see Johnson, 2013). While these ethnographies of language policy have provided interesting findings on policy processes in educational and minority language contexts, Bonacina-

Pugh (2012) argues that these studies focus on language policies as text and discourse and overlook the fact that practices can also be conceptualized as language policies. By studying English translators and language revisors ethnographically, I was able to show how language professionals' local, conventionalized *ways of doing things*, their practiced language policies regulate language and can also inform the development of language policies in the institution more widely.

My focus on language support providers in an academic setting puts the ways in which language quality is regulated at the center. It is possible that language policy studies focus on language quality less than on language choice because the documents and discourses rarely take it up. There have, however, been studies that investigate how language-based practices (Woydack, 2018) or texts produced in them (Cameron, 1995) are standardized and controlled, but these do not explicitly align themselves with the LPP tradition. Furthermore, even in these studies, the point of departure is either covert resistance to or active imposition of top-down/hegemonic power. Bonacina-Pugh (2012) and my research differ from both lines of inquiry by contesting the existing definitions of language policy and refusing to predefine where power and authority reside (for critique on critical discourse analysis and conversation analysis for the same reasons, see Blommaert, 2005). In other words, the distinction is that, especially in earlier LPP studies, the subjects do not in their own right and on their own terms actively participate in policy-making through their practices.[46] My contribution is to show that language quality can be regulated not (only) by encoding policies but also by establishing social order through recurring re-enactment in practices. It is my firm belief that such understanding could inform the study of policy-formation in general and refine our understanding of agency in policy processes.

In order to incorporate these discussions into LPP studies, we need to turn to the study of practices in heterogeneous settings through ethnographic inquiry. In the community I studied, the language professionals develop and implement their own local language norms and ideals through the practices of translation and authors' editing. This was especially pronounced in the way translation was carried out in the Unit. The translators, together with the language revisors, collaborate to produce English translations, and the analysis of two translated genres in chapter 6 identified differences in the way press releases and course descriptions were translated. Each translated genre appears to draw on a set of ideals and norms that, to a certain degree, differ from one another, and that result in different, but coherently patterned linguistic manifestations. In essence this means that translation, as it has been practiced in the Unit, has developed specific ways of styling the voice through which the institution communicates in English in different genres. Some of these norms and ideals have been encoded into the *Style guide for translators*, most notably the orthographic conventions, but others reside in the human

[46] In fact, this also applies to the pupils studied by Bonacina-Pugh (2012).

and non-human carriers of the practice, i.e. as the gradually accumulating collective institutional memory and as shared practical understandings of the actors who collaboratively participate in translation. The ways of styling entail particular routinized modes of action that guide translators and language revisors to produce a realization of a genre that can be recognized as such because of the certain linguistic features they exhibit. These features in the press release genre were e.g. metaphoric language use or higher numbers of cohesive devices, which were features normatively associated with production of the genre in the Unit.

In essence, these patterned forms of styling are indexes of language quality that have validity in this particular setting. This means, first of all, that the indexes created during translation in the Unit are local realizations of meanings assigned for translation in the Unit. Even when the ideals of a press release might draw on globally shared journalistic conventions, the coherently patterned micro-linguistic detail that manifests through translation in the Unit is a local achievement. As this is the case with even the most widely shared indexes of language quality, mapping the development and maintenance of the language professionals' practical understandings governing the appropriation of norms becomes a key concern. This also means that the local appropriation of norms is a process. As Blommaert (2006, p. 515) notes, instead of reproducing language ideologies imposed in policy documents, LPP studies should be focusing on the construction of ideologies and on the gradual emergence of the standard indexical categories that emanate locally. This suggests that it might be in order for LPP studies to abandon ideas about languages as distinct codes that can be policed and instead focus on the construction of indexes of quality in a specific setting. In addition, in order to understand language policy processes we need to move away from policy documents and shift our attention towards practices of policing and policy-making more widely. These shifts in foci could encourage LPP scholars to carry out research in new sites and with various kinds of participants. Conceptualizing language policy as a social practice could help identify language regulation and language policy-making in other language based social practices that, until now, have not been investigated in LPP studies.

Translation studies. My research also contributes to research done in the sociology of translation. The sociology of translation shares clear similarities with my approach, which sees translation as interventions into meaning making in ways that clearly distinguish translation from the original as was demonstrated in chapter 6. Drawing from Lefevere (1992), language regulation in translation – the interventions introduced into translations – can be seen as a form of rewriting through interventions that manipulate the translated text. In the Unit this meant that translators attune the texts in hopes of a more favorable uptake and to introduce an English-medium institutional voice. In my analysis of interview data, documents, fieldnotes and translations produced in the Unit I aligned myself with the holistic approach adopted by Koskinen (2008). Through this lens, I analyzed how the translations were

produced collaboratively, by negotiating with the other actors taking part in the process. In addition, I showed how the interventions draw on ideals related to genre, encoded norms commonly agreed upon by the Unit's language professionals and inscribed into the *Style guide* and translation memory for storage and dissemination, as well as from other texts circulating in the institution.

The sociology of translation has also specifically studied translation policy (Meylaerts, 2010; González Núñez, 2016, 2017; Tesseur, 2017; González Núñez and Meylaerts, 2017). Studies on translation policy share similarities with studies of language policy in that they tend to focus on official settings where either legislation or official policies govern language choice (see e.g. the edited volume by González Núñez and Meylaerts, 2017). Often such translation policy studies investigate the decisions over how information is made available in different languages and how resources are allocated to carry out this work. Even though the study of translation policy recognizes that "relatively informal situations too have a policy dimension" (Meylaerts, 2010), the practice of policy-making in the "informal" situations of translation, and how these informal ways of doing things produce translation quality, has not received much attention.

However, there are studies that have looked at informal processes of translation policy-making from the perspective of how translation practices shape the way language is used in translated texts. Koskinen (2008) is a prime example. Tesseur's work has also addressed the dynamics between institutional policies and translation practices in an international non-governmental organization. The environment Tesseur (2017, p. 223) studied was an international, multisited NGO with little central governance for translation processes. The situation was further complicated because some of the translations were produced *pro bono* by volunteer translators that could not be "threatened" with "extensive instructions" on how to carry out translation work. Tesseur (2017) found that it was largely context-dependent whether the actors responsible for managing translation work were either allocated enough resources to streamline and professionalize translation practices or encouraged to develop ways to share knowledge and good practices in translation work.

What these studies and my own research suggest is that translation is typically recognized as essential for institutional multilingualism, but its role in institutional communication is often invisible and the policies appear to presume that translation is a mechanical act of codeswitching and that the quality of language in translations does not need to be explicitly addressed in institutional policy-making (Koskinen, 2008; Tesseur, 2017; González Núñez, 2017). González Núñez (2017, p. 164) explicitly notes that in order for translation policies to account for quality, certain measures, he surmises, would need to be established, but that currently are notably lacking in the institutions studied by scholars interested in translation policy.

Similarly to Koskinen (2008) and Tesseur (2017), I observed that the lack of official guidelines leads to the development of more local policies for translation. Koskinen (2008) notes that institutional translation is characterized by standardization. In her analysis of EU translation, she observed that each round of drafting the original text and producing its translation brought with it both "added readability *and* added institutionalization" (Koskinen, 2008, p. 241, emphasis original; see also Tesseur, 2014a). Both of these were ways in which translators, as institutional agents, construed and inscribed an institutional identity to the texts they translated. My analysis in chapter 6 also shows that translators take responsibilities to establish an English-medium voice for the institution they work for by creating a shared repertoire whose manifestation is dependent on the genre under translation. I observed that in the translation process, each revision round introduced increased levels of cohesive and metadiscursive devices as well as intertextual links, but especially the bilingual revision also monitors and, when necessary, re-establishes equivalence in translated texts. In addition, the translation of press releases and course descriptions seemed to be governed by different norms that depended on the genre (similar observations were made by Tesseur, 2017). The translation of press releases draws from journalistic ideals that guide the translations toward more conventionalized English and "native-speaker-like" language. This also means that the role of monolingual revision becomes more pronounced in the translation of press releases. The language revisors introduce more interventions into the semantics of the press releases and are more often invited to comment on the appropriateness of the semantic interventions introduced into the translations by the translators involved in the process.

In chapter 5, I also observed that standardization is a key aspect of language quality in translation in the Unit. Standardization of translation is a process that is actively developed and maintained through the collaborative organization of work and material resources. In other words, the maintenance of the standard is possible because of the way competences and material resources have been assembled in the practice of translation. Like Shove et al. (2012, p. 24), I too argue that stability and routinization leading to the normalization of the standard are "ongoing accomplishments in which similar elements are repeatedly linked together in similar ways". Especially the *Style guide for translators* and the translation memory used in the Unit proved highly significant in the maintenance of the standard. Focusing on the materiality of translation is nothing new. Earlier ethnographic studies on translation have observed the vital role of material resources in translation (Risku et al., 2013; Olohan, 2011; Buzelin, 2005) and how materials are used in the practice of revision carried out by translators (Olohan, 2018, 2021). Similarly to Olohan (2018, 2021), in chapter 4 I draw on practice theory to describe how translation and authors' editing were performed in the Unit. In chapter 5 I draw on Bonacina-Pugh (2012) to conceptualize translation carried out in the Unit as a practiced language policy.

In essence this means that the Unit's translators and language revisors locally and through practice determine what language quality means in the Unit's translations. I showed that, even though not regulated at an institutional level, language quality is regulated locally, and that the regulation at first occurring only locally has the potential to influence language policies at the institutional level by being adopted by administration. This demonstrates, as observed by Littau (2016, p. 89) that "[t]o study editing, printing and translation gives crucial insights into how meanings are produced, manipulated and spread". Similarly to Risku et al. (2010, p. 84), I observed how knowledge developed in professional translation creates value for organizations. As noted in chapter 6, with the help of materials, knowledge is extracted from one actor, inscribed to a form independent of that actor and thus made available for reuse (Risku et al., 2010, p. 86). By drawing on practice theories, showing how ways of doing things developed in the Unit, and the materials used to carry out action coordinate translation behavior and create social order, I consider my thesis as an empirical contribution to the study of translation policy.

What I hope to add to the discussion on the materiality of translation is the way materials become part of the maintenance of language quality, and how the systematicity created through mundane, everyday translation acts has the potential to influence institutional language use more generally. As Olohan (2021, p. 78) notes, if translation is coordinated, it typically takes place in various forms of codification, such as manuals, textbooks and guides that create "shared norms of performance". In chapter 5, I show empirically how translators coordinate the production of translations in various ways besides these and create shared understandings of language quality. In addition, by establishing the different types of agency awarded for each of the actors taking part in translation, I also contribute to the ongoing discussion in translation studies on translators' agency (Kinnunen and Koskinen, 2010) as well as on agency in the human-nonhuman assemblage (Olohan, 2011; Buzelin, 2005).

Furthermore, I hope my research could provide another viewpoint into the work carried out by these practitioners by conceptualizing translation as language regulation and norm-negotiation. Combining these conceptual apparatuses with practice theoretical understandings could also help us understand the role of translation more generally. Even though there is an extensive and long tradition in translation studies to study textual changes introduced into translations (Munday, 2016; for an example, see e.g. Vinay and Darbelnet, 1995), these studies often do not attempt to make the link between micro-textual changes and their macro-level influence. In other words, the study of translation shifts is not often linked to discussions of translation policy or language policy more generally (see, however, Koskinen, 2008). As noted above, there have been studies that look at decisions over what to translate, into which languages and with what resources in translation policy studies, but these studies have not yet shown how translation practice, the local way of translating, has an impact on the level of texts (except for e.g.

Koskinen, 2008), ecologies of texts created by translators and beyond. Here I think, aligning myself with Olohan (2021), practice theories could provide a way forward. By drawing on theoretical understandings of how practices integrate elements to stabilize and coordinate themselves and create affordances for the elements to travel to other places and times (Shove et al., 2012), we can begin to understand how social order is being created on a meso-level (Pennycook, 2010), in practice. In order to do this, we need to unpack the elements, depict and describe them through empirical inquiry, establish how they connect to each other and show how the integration of specific elements in given spatiotemporal locations creates a localized way of using language.

9.3 THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF LANGUAGE REGULATION REVISITED

I began chapter 2 with a discussion of the concept of language regulation. Now I would like to revisit that discussion based on the synthesis of findings provided above. Below I identify aspects that could be further investigated and elaborated on in the conceptualization of language regulation.

Scope of language regulation. One key factor affecting how language regulation manifests and what scope it has lies in the context in which it occurs. In her early work, Hynninen (2016) investigated language regulation primarily as a spoken activity. Since our research employs the same conceptual apparatus, I want to open a discussion on the similarities and differences that emerge when the concept of language regulation is operationalized in two different contexts. The concept of language regulation was used to draw attention to individual acts of regulation as opposed to official policies to develop more nuanced ways of understanding the ways in which language use was governed. The shift in attention opened up lines of inquiry which the study of official policies had not recognized. Most importantly, in terms of Hynninen's and my own research, the study of language regulation moves focus towards grassroots actors and the study of language quality. One of the key findings of Hynninen's research was that speakers do not merely reproduce existing norms but actively engage in communal norm-formation. Similar observations can be made from my own data. Both translators and language revisors draw on codified norms, but also actively develop their own community norms. I would argue that there is one key distinction, though, and that is the potential scope of the language regulation which is closely tied to the context in which the regulation occurs. As Solin and Hynninen (2018, p. 496) note, practices that produce regulation "might range from relatively situated and temporary ones to more permanent and explicitly managed ones".

Based on earlier studies and my own research on language regulation, it seems that language regulation functions as part of community building for the actors who participate in practices that produce regulation. The

establishment of shared norms via language regulation *attunes* (Pennycook, 2018, p. 131) the communication taking place among actors by adjusting, interpreting and adapting it. The attunements always take place locally, within the community. The dynamics among the Unit's language professionals – and in the more transient entanglements typical of authors' editing – affect whose norms are taken up as shared community norms and how democratic the decision-making is. Power relations, hierarchies and personal histories play a role in the imposing and negotiation of norms. The regulatory actions through which translators and language revisors are called upon to intervene in language use could be thought of as distribution of responsibilities across actors taking part in English-medium text production. The distribution of responsibility and authority display attempts to outsource some of the indexical meaning-making responsibilities, e.g. the appropriate attunement to selected audiences, to actors other than the single author operating confined within their own communicative resources.

Temporality is also crucial. In transient communities, the lifespan of community norms is more fleeting than in communities that configure the same actors routinely. Of course, some of the norms might travel into other communities. It is likely, however, that when a community dissolves and another forms as a different configuration, norms need to be renegotiated. In the institutionalized practices of translation that have remained more or less the same for years, the roles and responsibilities cast on each participant are more stable compared to the constellation of actors coming together for a relatively short period of time in authors' editing. According to Mortensen (2017, p. 282), in transient configurations, indexicality should be seen "as an unfolding process" suggesting that the participants need to navigate the situations and coordinate their action without pre-established or fixed frameworks for participation. In authors' editing, "the boundaries of indexical fields are unclear", the actors do not share the same semiotic resources for creating and interpreting meaning and the transience of the entire endeavor impedes the development of a shared set of indexes (Mortensen, 2017, p. 282).

Another crucial factor in determining the scope of language regulation is how central language regulation is for the practical understandings shared by the carriers of the practice. The language regulatory actions of the language professionals are an integral part of the practices of translation and authors' editing. Furthermore, these actors have been institutionally assigned the power to regulate language and they are solicited to do so. In other words, in the practices of translation and authors' editing, the actors are incentivized to regulate language, it is their task, whereas in the communities Hynninen studied, the actors had come together to complete a course or do group work and the language regulation that occurred was more coincidental – an accidental byproduct of doing something else. Intuitively thinking, authorized and solicited language regulation most probably has wider scope than language regulation that is unsolicited and emerges organically during the course of interaction.

Regulating repertoires. As noted in chapter 2, another key difference is mode. Writing, and especially high stakes writing, tends to be regulated more than speaking. In writing, the author is not able to adjust their communication during uptake, but the *attunements* need to be inscribed into the text during writing. Authors typically have an idea about who the potential readers might be and attune their texts accordingly. To do so, authors need to communicate to their readers through a shared repertoire. Blommaert (2013a, p. 442) encourages scholars interested in the study of writing to say

> something about the patterns of distribution of particular, specific resources required for performing writing practices, the different forms of competence involved in the act of writing texts destined to be understood by others, and the ways in which people manage or fail to incorporate these resources and competences into their repertoires.

Below I attempt answer Blommaert's call and describe how I understand language regulation becoming part of writing practices.

Translators and language revisors are called upon to mediate when there is a gap between repertoires the author cannot bridge on their own. Both translation and authors' editing are forms of rewriting, but the scope of mediation differs. In translation, the mediation covers the entire reproduction of the text, whereas in authors' editing, the mediation addresses only some aspects and some more clearly than others. In translation, the collective rewriting of the texts circulating in the University produce a local repertoire in English. The repertoires of each genre differ, but within a genre the repertoire produced in translation is fairly systematic due to the arrangements that prefigure actions carried out in the practice.

In authors' editing, the configurations change. The language revisors work with different clients and have to navigate the range their interventions cover. Depending on the configuration, authors' editors take on different responsibilities in the production of a repertoire. Typically, these responsibilities entail regulating certain aspects of language quality. In authors' editing, the language revisors intervene in the correctness, conventionality and communicability of the English-medium text. The strategies through which interventions are introduced reflect the degree of confidence the revisor has to regulate a given aspect of quality in a given configuration. In authors' editing, the meanings the actors assign to their own and each other's participatory roles have to be re-negotiated every time the configuration changes. Often this means that different people occupy the positions of the author and authors' editor, but sometimes the arrangement changes because other actors, such as journal editors and referees enter the configuration, and the actors have to readjust their roles.

Both translation and authors' editing enable institutions and individuals to communicate through a repertoire which the actor who commissions the service cannot produce on their own. Through translation, the institution can employ a multilingual repertoire in its communications. Authors' editing

produces the repertoire collaboratively with the author. In line with Pennycook (2018, p. 16), I observe that repertoires and competence are not "properties of individual humans but [...] distributed across people, places and artefacts". In authors' editing, repertoire and competence in the production of the repertoire is distributed across a wider network of practices: authoring, offering comments on a colleague's text, authors' editing, editing a journal and peer reviewing. The repertoire manifest in the published text is the collaborative contribution of each actor's involvement. The repertoire of the translations is collectively produced by the translators and language revisors, and each actor embodies pregiven roles and performs preassigned activities during the process. The production of the repertoire is distributed across the actors taking part in translation during different stages of translation. In addition, the translators specialize in particular genres, as do both in-house and freelance language revisors. This way the responsibilities over the production and maintenance of genre is distributed across the actors in the translation team and the maintenance of disciplinary conventions across the authors, language revisors and academic brokers. Finally, parts of the responsibilities over the production of the repertoire have been distributed to non-human actors. Both the *Style guide for translators* and the translation memory take part in the standardization of the repertoire.

Coherence in the organization of practices. The final observation I would like to offer in the discussion on language regulation is essentially related to all the points made above but still warrants a discussion of its own. As mentioned above, the configurations in which translation transpires are more stable than those of authors' editing. The constantly changing participants in authors' editing not only introduce more variation into the practice, but also constrain efforts to incorporate order into the configuration through routinization. Because the participants change, they cannot become habituated to their roles or mediate a shared practical understanding about what each of the actors is doing in the practice in order to establish roles that would prefigure language regulatory actions in the future. Because the configuration includes only one revisor at a time, it also impedes the development of shared practical understandings in the language revisor community both within the Unit and among its freelance language revisors.

The translations, on the other hand, are produced by collaborating with participants who have been thoroughly socialized into the practice and have acted as carriers of the practice numerous times before. In recurring practices that are collaborative, the actions of individuals become coordinated through the practice itself. Because of this they share a practical understanding about what should be done and why. In other words, translation as a practice is organized and mediated in ways that introduce systematicity across acts of translating and translations produced in the Unit. Translation in the Unit configures the same people who use the same tools to strive toward commonly recognized ends through coherently distributed actions. The tools, like the *Style guide for translators* and the translation memory, both enhance the

scope of language regulatory actions and take part in determining what language regulation should target.

In practices where some of the actors participating in them keep changing, the negotiation which is needed to navigate the roles and responsibilities might eventually become an inherent part of the practice (as in authors' editing). The element of transience, the fact that some forms of participation are stable and some transitory, creates a need for negotiation and even opens up opportunities for a redistribution of roles and responsibilities. Practices with stable participatory roles accrue stability through every enaction. The more tools for social coordination the practice encompasses, the more routinized it becomes. And the more routinized the practices are, the less their execution needs to be negotiated and their scope and limits explicitly articulated.

What this means is that the way the practices configure can afford or constrain the scope the language professionals have in regulating what the repertoire in published texts is like. The systematic development and entextualization of the local standard through the acts of translation encourage some of the actors to adopt similar norms and ideals into texts produced elsewhere in the institution. In translation, competence, materials and meanings align and create systematicity that enforces the norms and ideals of language created in the Unit locally. These manifest in texts disseminated across the institution and from which other actors can pick up these norms and ideals allowing them to travel to other places and times, as well as to other practices of writing. In my opinion, this illustrates what Pennycook (2010, p. 22) means by "human action as a form of meso-politics, an intermediate level between the micro and the macro". Decisions that begin as individual acts of translation can, as time goes by, accumulate into a local standard that is widely distributed across the organization in the Unit's translations. The *way of doing things* developed by the translators working in the Unit has an effect on a meso-level, "above the level of activity and below the level of social order, as mediators of how things are done" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 29). The coherence in the organization of translation and the alignment of elements that comprise it affords for translation to prefigure some of *the ways of doing things* in other practices of English-medium writing.

Ethnography warrants a highly fruitful way of studying practices. And as language regulation occurs in practices that produce it, the individual acts of regulation need to be contextualized so that we can understand how they take part in shaping the social order. The meanings assigned for language regulation are not just discursive, but they are also reproduced and modulated in practices that are always material in some form or another. Ethnography also enables the study of materiality; how tools are used and ascribed value, as well as how the materials come to be just as integrally a part of the practices as the human actors. With the integration of emic and etic perspectives,

ethnography can also inform us about how the linguistic can generate the societal and vice versa.

In the next section, I offer some suggestions on where the study of language regulation could move next. In the suggestions, I draw on the findings presented in this thesis.

9.4 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

An area that my research has only begun to map and that still needs more elaboration is how individual acts of regulation can accrue force and become widely established policies. Based on my findings, there are some characteristics which future research – aiming to address language policy-formation through practices – could be on the lookout for. The take-home-message from the discussion based on the present research is that, if we want to understand how situated and local acts of regulation function as practiced language policies, we should not seek to study contexts in which policies are imposed in top-down manner, but instead fix our gaze on social practices. The most fertile ground could be offered by studying practices that 1) are language based and are somehow distinguishable because of the language they use, 2) are organized in ways that make sharing practical understandings possible and 3) configure materials to introduce and maintain systematicity trialogically. Focus on policies as practice could elaborate the political aspects of everyday activities. As Pennycook (2010, p. 12) suggests:

> A focus on language as a local practice draws attention, on the one hand, to the everyday, with all the political associations that entails, and on the other, in its critical rereading of language, locality and practice, to an alternative way of thinking about language and the everyday, with all the political implications of such a move.

When practices are viewed as an integral part of the socially constructed world, we begin to see how systematically carried out individual actions comprise of practices which are always situated in wider institutional, historical and societal contexts. By focusing on practices, we can zoom in and study specific actions, but also step back and understand how practices are the constitutional building blocks that form institutions, societies and social order in general.

Another interesting line of inquiry for future research addresses the uptake of regulation. In the thesis, I argue that language professionals act as regulators of academic discourse. I identified and discussed a range of ways in which both translators and language revisors carry out acts of language regulation. I have adopted the perspective of the language professionals themselves and focused on their actions and ideas about language regulation. However, the perspective of those being regulated, and the uptake of regulation remains to a large degree unexplored in the thesis. Earlier research on the uptake of language regulation in research writing, from the author's

point of view, suggests that language professionals play a marginal role in English-medium publication practices (Lillis and Curry, 2010). On the other hand, previous research has also called for more research on the role of language professionals in academic publishing. In the thesis, I have tried to answer this call and since some of my findings seem to contradict earlier research, I think this area warrants more research. In addition, I think the uptake of translation is in need of research. To my knowledge there are no studies investigating the uptake of translation in institutionalized contexts either from the point of view of the end-user or the commissioner of translations. What is particularly interesting in the uptake of translation is that it could help understand how the ways in which meanings assigned to translation and the indexes of quality created in translated texts travel to other practices of writing. It could help us explain how language used in translation can inform language use more generally.

The third line of inquiry I see transpiring through my research is related to the conceptualization of language quality. When I started this research project, I found Solin and Hynninen's (2018) theoretical conceptualization of language choice and language quality as distinct phenomena which language regulation can target a highly useful point of departure. This distinction highlighted why I found it very difficult to position my own work within mainstream LPP studies that seemed primarily interested in studying the status warranted for different languages by policy documents. The regulation of language quality, I thought, could be used to explain what it is that language professionals do as part of translation and authors' editing practices. When I began the analysis presented in chapter 8, I had already noticed that some acts of language regulation (like introducing subject verb agreement) could be more easily characterized as interventions into language quality than others (breaking sentences, adding cohesion or introducing metadiscursive devices). By the time I had finished analyzing the text trajectory on "Activity" used as data in chapter 8, I had grown increasingly uncomfortable in my attempt to define what the language revisors do during authors' editing as regulating the quality of the language alone.

There was no doubt that the interventions the language revisors introduced regulated quality through interventions that manifest as *language*, but were they interventions that targeted language quality or the quality of the argumentation presented in the manuscript more generally? To put it differently, was the authors' editing regulating form or content? In some sense, these seem like pointless questions since all content in a text is mediated in a linguistic form. Why should we even try to make the distinction, then? It seems that many practices rely on the assumption that the denotational and indexical functions of language could be easily decoupled. This assumption makes it possible for people to presume that the indexical aspects of meaning-making could somehow be outsourced – that the author could produce the content and the language revisor (or any other language professional) could be commissioned to be responsible solely for the linguistic form. But as noted

in chapters 7 and 8, this is not the case. Both an academic broker who suggests a more fitting term and a language broker who introduces a more conventional metaphor engage in organizing "indexicalities triggering socioculturally presupposable framings" (Blommaert, 2006, p. 514). Both interventions could also function as a way to assign the author more authority and ensure a more favorable uptake. So why should their contribution be thought of as any different? As analysts we might need to pause and think about distinctions that appear naturalized. Are we categorizing changes as interventions into language quality purely because they have been introduced by a language professional? Maybe future research on the regulation of language quality could abandon all categorizations and instead focus on the norms or ideals the actors draw from to justify the regulation and the construction of indexicalities the regulation produces.

9.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR PRACTITIONERS

The translators have developed a well-established and proficiently operating routine for quality assurance – the two revision processes – in which all actors involved engage in negotiation to ensure the community members ascribe to the same norms and ideals in the production of translations. It seems that at least all the in-house translators, as well as those freelance translators who have been affiliated with the Unit for a longer time, share very similar practical understandings of what language quality in translation means in the Unit. Furthermore, they seem to assign similar meanings to the materials used in translation and understandings about what the materials should be used for. This is convenient especially for the in-house translators acting as bilingual revisors in the Unit, since they are the ones who need to re-translate, i.e., do the detective work or use the materials if the freelance translators have failed to do so during the first phase of translation. Not all freelancers seemed to be aware of the importance of materials, though. To save everyone's time, patience (and face) the translators could try to communicate their ideas about language quality in the Unit's translations more clearly to the more peripheral members. It would be possible to either establish a guideline that would explicate what kinds of norms and ideals, as well as what kind of materials are relevant for each genre translated in the Unit. If this seems too formal, the translator commissioning the service could add stock phrase instructions for translating the particular genre to accompany the commission.

Based on my data, the translators and the language revisors participating in translation seem to regard democracy an important value in the development of the standard they locally produce. The standard's development has not, however, been informed by uptake. Despite explicitly asking for it, the translators receive very little feedback on the translations. The ones they receive are typically thank you emails praising fast delivery or particularly insightful translation. While it is perfectly possible that everyone

commissioning translations from the Unit is unquestionably satisfied with the translations they receive and thus see no need to provide feedback, there could be other alternative explanations. The clients might have some issues with the translation, but they could be too busy to notify the translators about those, especially if the issues were minor and quick to remedy. There might also be regular clients who have identified some issues in the translation but want to maintain the well-operating relationship and choose not to say anything.

Since the translation services are already under time pressure, there is no way someone from the translation team could scan texts circulating in the University to identify discrepancies between published versions and those translated in the Unit. If the translators would still wish to be as democratic as possible in the development of the local standard, there might be a quick and relatively easy way to invite feedback and input from the clients. The translators could ask their clients to send back to the Unit any versions of translated texts that *have been modified* before publishing. If no modifications had been introduced, the client would not need to do anything. The procedure could be introduced to clients as a quality control measure. The translators could then scan through the translations on the spot to identify differences (or ask clients to use track changes), make note of them and bring them up in meetings concerning the development of the *Style guide for translators*. Alternatively, the modified translations could be transferred directly to the translation memory as such. That would mean that the memory then contained two translations of the same text, and if a concordance search would find a match for the original, both versions of the translation would be retrievable for the translators, and they could decide whether to choose the wording they produced in the Unit or the one produced (and published) by the client. Both would be relatively effortless ways to incorporate or at least invite contributions from the commissioners (and maybe even end-users). This process would not only make the development of the Unit standard more inclusive and democratic, it could also make visible the active efforts through which the translators construe the institutional English-medium voice.

Similarly to the practice of translation, the practice of authors' editing, and the role of the language revisor, could be made more apparent to the other actors participating in the academic publication processes. As the number of papers aspiring to get published is increasing due to pressures to publish or perish, peer review policies should be widely adopted to prevent any potential systemic inequality in the treatment of authors wishing to publish in internationally highly ranked journals because of their proficiency in English. Guidelines have been established, and some of them even address language or at least the quality of writing and how it should be evaluated. But even those policies that contain guidelines concerning language can prove discriminating against non-Anglophone authors (Hames, 2007, see critique in Jenkinson, 2008). Thus, journals and/or publishers should be encouraged to develop and adopt frameworks that explicitly guide the referee process by suggesting

procedures for giving feedback on language-related issues to ensure inclusive and fair treatment.

Authors differ in their abilities to write academic texts in English. In my opinion, the authors' editing service clearly seems to provide valuable assistance and facilitate the manuscripts' potential for successful submission. There are, however, caveats that need addressing. For many of the actors taking part in the publication process, the role of the language revisor is invisible. This seems to cause problems that could be solved by raising awareness of the language revisors' role.

In addition, the distribution of responsibilities between the author and the language revisor seems to rely on intuitive and situational judgement calls that require varying amounts of negotiation. The interdependency of the different practices in the publication process requires an established and sustainable distribution of responsibilities across actors taking part in the process. The challenges arise from the inability to sustainably balance the division of labor between the authors, language revisors and journal's gatekeepers in terms of whose responsibility it is to produce the indexes of language quality, and whose responsibilities are leaned on more heavily towards ensuring the quality of the substance (since these seem to be typically intertwined and entangled). A closely linked phenomenon is the temporal aspect of both language and substance quality production. In other words, at which points would it be legitimate to summon contributions from language brokers and at which points from academic brokers? Should papers be authors' edited before submission to facilitate fair treatment in peer review? Or should the resources allocated for language help be reserved to the phase in which the author has already had the chance to refine the argumentation on the basis of the referee feedback? I do not have answers to these questions, but I think these could be used as a point of departure for further discussion.

Furthermore, the service-providers could mandate that, in exchange for their services, the authors should acknowledge and inform referees that they have used authors' editing services prior to submission. If the authors were to make changes after the authors' editing process, the acknowledgement could be formulated in a way that recognizes the language revisor's contribution to earlier versions of the manuscript (as suggested by, for example Burrough-Boenisch and Matarese, 2013, p. 188).

Finally, the language revisors and the institutions they work for could attempt to be more explicit about what the service covers. The service as such would not need to change but rather the way the scope and limits are conveyed to the clients. The lists of what the service includes and excludes could be revised and made more explicit by adding examples, and possibly by using the categorization established in chapter 7 to aid in defining the scope of the service. In addition, the language support providers operating within the institution could cooperate and promote other in-house service providers when they see a client could benefit from some service other than the one they are commissioning. For example, language revisors could promote courses on

academic writing in English when they encounter clients that could benefit from more instructive approaches to develop their writing. In addition, those language revisors who choose to engage in more negotiative strategies could try to convey the reasons for not intervening directly into the potentially problematic elements in the text to highlight the responsibilities the author has in conveying the intended meaning.

These measures could help to bring forth the contributions of the language revisors in ways that could make their role more explicit and visible to the other actors. These measures could reduce any potential misunderstandings in the referee feedback, if peer reviewers knew that the manuscript has already been authors' edited by a language professional, and would engage in more thoroughly explaining their evaluations on the language of the manuscript.

9.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Language regulation is essentially mediation and negotiation of norms. It is a site for norm-formation and norm reproduction that takes place in a dynamic, situational and localized context. While the study of language regulation demonstrates that norms are emergent, processual and constantly in motion across contexts, we can also observe that especially the regulation of written language can take forms that stabilize and systematize the ways in which actors orient to conflicting (or contesting) norms. Through collaboration, inscription, the creation of intertextuality and aided by agency awarded to materials (technology and policy documents, e.g. style guides) the mediation of norms can become a coordinated effort in which actors operate through a shared set of norms and beliefs that systematize the way they use language. The efforts to coordinate language regulation routinize norm negotiation thus creating systematicity and stability that has the potential to influence other practices of writing. The implication of these findings is that future research could find the materiality of language regulation a beneficial point of departure.

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APPENDIX A: PRIVACY NOTICE

PRIVACY POLICY/NOTICE FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
EU General Data Protection Regulation
Art. 13 and 14
Date: 25.10.2019

Information about personal data processing in the University of Helsinki research project *Language Regulation in Academia*

The research project *Language Regulation in Academia* involves the processing of personal data. The purpose of this notice is to provide information on the personal data that is processed, the source of the data and how the data is used in the study. For more information on the rights of data subjects and how you can affect the processing of your personal data, please see the end of this notice.

1. Data Controller

University of Helsinki
Address: P.O. Box 3 (Fabianinkatu 33), 00014 University of Helsinki, Finland

2. Contact person and principal investigator

Contact person in matters concerning the project:
Name: Researchers in the Language Regulation in Academia project Anna Solin, Niina Hynninen and Hanna-Mari Pienimäki
Faculty/department/unit: Faculty of Arts / Department of Languages
Address: P.O. Box 24 (Unioninkatu 40), 00014 University of Helsinki, Finland
E-mail: anna.solin@helsinki.fi, niina.hynninen@helsinki.fi and hannamari.pienimaki@helsinki.fi

Principal investigator: see above

3. Contact details of the Data Protection Officer

The Data Protection Officer of the University is Lotta Ylä-Sulkava. You can reach her at tietosuoja@helsinki.fi.

4. Description of the study and the purposes of processing personal data

The personal data are processed for the purposes of the Language Regulation in Academia research project, and potentially in other research projects related to language studies. The Language Regulation in Academia research project is concerned with, in particular, language perceptions, text production processes, as well as who intervenes in language use in the university context, what forms this intervention takes, and what kind of language use is construed as acceptable.

5. Who is carrying out the research?

The research is conducted in the University of Helsinki, Faculty of Arts, Department of Languages. Researchers from other universities may participate in the research, and research data that includes personal data may be disclosed to them for purposes of conducting the research.

6. Personal data included in the research data

The following types of direct and indirect identifiers concerning the study participants are collected in the project (not all information listed below are collected from all study participants): Direct identifiers: name, contact information, voice, photo / video image, work history. Indirect identifiers: language skills, work samples, selected research publications and possible other texts related to research or academic work, perceptions and views expressed by study participants.

7. Sources of personal data

The personal data are collected in the following ways (not all methods concern all study participants): Interviews, observation, audio recording, video recording, photographing, collection of different versions of selected documentsfrom study participants and from public and semi-public sources (e.g. intranet of the study participant's organisation, research publication platforms, public websites and social media), email communication. In addition, upon agreement, supplementary research data owned by other academic institutions may be disclosed to the project. These data may be collected, for instance, in the following ways: In addition to the methods listed above, collection of different versions of student texts and teaching materials as well as any other materials produced to support teaching from study participants and from public and semi-public sources (e.g. e-thesis archives).

8. Sensitive personal data

No data considered as special category data under Article 9 of the General Data Protection Regulation will be processed in the study.

9. Duration of processing

The researchers mentioned in section 2, as well as other members of the project and researchers to whom data have been disclosed may continue to process the personal data for their research purposes also after the project has ended and also in other research related to language studies. The personal data will be processed until the Language Regulation in Academia project as well as other studies which use personal information collected in this project have ended. After this, the information is archived as explained in sections 11 and 15. If personal data collected in this research project are disclosed to another research project, the purposes of this other project determine how personal data are processed in it, and research participants will be informed according to the General Data Protection Regulation.

10. Lawful basis of processing

Personal data is processed on the following basis, which is based on Article 6(1) of the General Data Protection Regulation:

☐ participant's consent
☐ compliance with a legal obligation to which the controller is subject
☒ performance of a task carried out in the public interest or in the exercise of official authority vested in the controller:
    ☒ scientific or historical research purposes or statistical purposes
    ☐ archiving of research materials or cultural heritage materials
☐ legitimate interests pursued by the controller or by a third party
    description of the legitimate interest:

11. Recipients of the personal data

In the course of the research project, the personal data may be used by the project researchers and research assistants. At their discretion, the project researchers may also use research data that includes personal data (e.g. audio recordings) for teaching purposes, provided that the possibility for identification is minimised so that the people in the teaching situation cannot recognise the participants by using means that they are likely to have at their disposal. In addition, thesis/dissertation writers may process personal data collected in the project if this is necessary for the purposes of their study.

Academic collaborators may take part in the research project and be disclosed research data owned by the University of Helsinki that include personal data as described in this privacy notice. The disclosure of personal data for this purpose is based on enabling scientific research with the collaborators and processing the data for research purposes.

In addition, personal data processed in this project may later be processed in other projects related to language studies and they may also be disclosed to another data controller for the purposes of linguistic research, for instance through the Finnish Social Science Data Archive or The Language Bank of Finland (however with the University of Helsinki as the disclosing part).

Under an obligation of confidentiality, personal data may be transferred to companies providing transcription services. The companies function as data handlers for the University of Helsinki.

12. Transfer of personal data to countries outside the EU/European Economic Area

No personal data will be transferred to recipients outside the European Economic Area.

13. Automated decisions

No automated decisions with significant effects on the participants are made in the study.

14. Safeguards to protect the personal data

The personal data are processed and stored in such a way that only persons who need the data for research purposes can access them.

Personal data processed in IT systems:
☒ username ☒ password ☐ logging ☐ access control ☐ encryption ☐ other:
How data in physical format (e.g. paper) is protected: storage in lockable cabinets in lockable rooms

Processing of direct identifiers:
☐ The data is collected without direct identifiers
☐ Direct identifiers will be removed in the analysis phase
☒ The material to be analysed includes direct identifiers. Reason: The data analysis is only possible with direct identifiers.

15. Retention of personal data after the completion of the study

☐ The research material will be deleted
☒ The research material will be archived:
☒ without identifiers ☐ with identifiers

Where will the material be archived and for how long: With permission from the study participants, those parts of the data that can be anonymized will be archived permanently in the Finnish Social Science Data Archive, The Language Bank of Finland or similar archiving service.

16. Your rights as a data subject, and exceptions to these rights

Rights of data subjects
According to the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), data subjects have the right

- of access to their data
- to rectification of their data
- to the erasure of their data and to be forgotten
- to restrict the processing of their data
- to data portability
- to object to the processing of their data
- not to be subject to a decision based solely on automated processing.

Not all of these rights can be exercised in all situations, depending on factors such as the basis for the processing of personal data.

For more information on the rights of data subjects in different situations, please see the Data Protection Ombudsman's website: https://tietosuoja.fi/en/what-rights-do-data-subjects-havein-different-situations

Exceptions to data subject rights
Under the General Data Protection Regulation and the Finnish Data Protection Act, certain exceptions to the rights of data subjects can be made when personal data is processed in
scientific research and fulfilling the rights would render impossible or seriously impair the
achievement of the objectives of the processing (in this case, scientific research).

The necessity of exceptions to the rights of data subjects will always be assessed on a case by case basis.

Right to lodge a complaint
You have the right to lodge a complaint with the Data Protection Ombudsman's Office if you think your personal data has been processed in violation of applicable data protection laws.

Contact details:

Data Protection Ombudsman's Office (Tietosuojavaltuutetun toimisto)
Address: Ratapihantie 9, 6th floor, 00520 Helsinki
Postal address: B.O. Box 800, 00521 Helsinki
Tel. (switchboard): 029 56 66700
Fax: 029 56 66735
E-mail: tietosuoja(at)om.fi

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM

Consent form

Project title: Language Regulation in Academia
Project director: Docent Anna Solin, University of Helsinki
Investigator: Doctoral student Hanna-Mari Pienimäki, University of Helsinki

This consent form is for taking part in the subproject Language Professionals as Regulators of Academic Discourse *(investigator Hanna-Mari Pienimäki). In the following text, I will describe the aims and procession of my research. Please read the following information, do not hesitate to ask if you need clarification, and consider if you have the possibility to take part in this study.*

Purpose of the research

The focus of this research are language professionals, who produce texts in an international academic environment (i.e. language revisers and translators), and who work to help researchers and university personnel to reach a multilingual audience. Language professionals develop specific knowledge and expertise, as well as practices where their expertise is put to use. This study investigates who language professionals are, who and what do they work with, as well as what kind of work they do and how. In addition, of interest to the study are the requirements for doing this type of work, and how the work might be regulated. And finally, the current study also looks at the ways of writing and revising texts the professionals have developed and adopted for working in an international academic context. The study is expected to have applicational relevance for training future language professionals and planning language support services for academia.

Data collection and participation

Data will be collected during a longer period of time using ethnographically informed methods. I hope to recruit language professionals, who would be willing to share their time, thoughts and views from time to time during the whole project. I will also look at (different, i.e. draft and final, versions of) texts the language professionals work with, and conduct fieldwork in meetings and training sessions. In addition, I am interested in collecting spoken and written instructions and decisions, e.g., style guides, writing manuals, submission guidelines, authors' instructions, language policies and in-house work guidance that regulate language professionals' work. In the first phase, the participants will be asked to take part in an interview, where we will discuss the participant's work and work practices. If the participant is willing to continue participation in the study, we will discuss the possibility to observe and document the participant's work by using methods that are mutually agreed upon. I addition, I would like to collect texts, and ideally different versions of the texts the participant has worked with. Data collected in the later phases will be used as a basis for

further interviews. The participation is voluntary and the participants are free to withdraw at any time.

Anonymity and data storage

Notes will be taken of the interview, and the notes will be processed into an electronic format and translated (if needed), after which the notes will be stored in the electronic format. The collected texts and other data will be processed for analysis and stored electronically. Passages from the notes and texts may be used in scholarly publications and presentations, as well as for outreach and teaching purposes. Your identity as an informant will be protected: any documents labelled with your name or personally-identifying information will be anonymized when data is used in publications and other above-mentioned purposes. The data will be used within the Language Regulation in Academia project (eventually incl. our collaborators) and also stored for possible further use by the project investigators. With your permission, the anonymised data may be archived for further use after the completion of the project.

Participant's Permission

I have read the consent form and conditions of this study. I have had the opportunity to discuss the consent form with the investigator. Any questions I have about this research have been answered to my satisfaction. I hereby acknowledge the above and give my voluntary consent.

Please choose the specific conditions of your participation below by choosing the appropriate alternative, and sign the form.

- I will take part in the first phase interview. ☐
- I am willing to take part in the later phases of data collection conducted by mutually agreed methods. ☐

As to the archiving of the data, please circle either "yes" or "no" below:

I agree for the collected data to be archived for further use after the completion of this project. YES NO

Signature _____ Date _____

Name _____

If you have any further questions about this study, please contact:

Hanna-Mari Pienimäki, MA
Doctoral student
Department of Modern Languages / English philology
P.O. Box 24 (Unioninkatu 40 B)

FI-00014 University of Helsinki
hanna-mari.pienimaki@helsinki.fi, 050-xxxxxxx (personal)

Or the Language Regulation in Academia project director:

Anna Solin, PhD, Docent
Senior Lecturer
Department of Modern Languages / English philology
P.O. Box 24 (Unioninkatu 40 B)
FI-00014 University of Helsinki
anna.solin@helsinki.fi, 050-xxxxxxx (personal)

APPENDIX C: SPEAKER CODES AND TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Speaker codes

SenTra	Senior translator
[Tra]	[Translator]
Tra2	Translator 2
Tra4	Translator 4
FreeTra1	Freelance translator 1
HMP	Hanna-Mari Pienimäki
Rev1	Revisor 1
Rev2	Revisor 2
FreeRev1	Freelance revisor 1
SemCon1	Seminar convener 1
UnitDir	Unit director
Aut1	Author 1
Ref1	Referee 1
Ref2	Referee 2
Ref3	Referee 3
Ref4	Referee 4
GuestEd	Guest editor
Int	Interviewer

Transcription conventions

,	a short gap between utterances
.	longer gap between utterances
..	unfinished utterance
?	rising intonation
word	uttered with emphasis
[…]	omitted text
[Finnish]	translated phrase in the original language
[English]	anonymized content or clarification
@	laughter
<xx>	paralinguistic communication
(text)	unclear utterance

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Haastattelurunko kääntäjät

Tausta: Kertoisitko ensin hieman itsestäsi ja siitä miten päädyit työskentelemään [yksikköön]?

- koulutus
- työhistoria

Työtehtävät: Kertoisitko millaisia töitä teet [yksikössä] ja millaista kääntäjän työ [yksikössä] on?

- Millaisia tekstejä käännät ja miten tehtävät jaetaan?
    - Pituus
    - Oletko erikoistunut kääntämään tietyn alan tekstejä?
    - Miten päätetään kuka käännöksen tekee?
    - Tehdäänkö työt tilausjärjestyksessä vai menevätkö jotkin käännökset pinon päällimmäisiksi?
    - Millaisella aikataululla käännöksiä tehdään?
    - Asiakkaat: usein samoja? Tapaatko heitä koskaan? Millaisten asioiden tiimoilta?
    - Missä työskentelet?
    - Teetkö töitä yksin/yhdessä jonkun kanssa? Keiden?
    - Kuukausi- vai urakkapalkka?
    - Mitä muuta työnkuvaasi kuuluu?

- Mitä apukeinoja kääntämisen tukena on?
    - Työkalut? (käännösmuistiohjelmat, sanakirjat, verkko, kirjoittamisen tyylioppaat)
    - Konekääntäminen ja ihmisen osuus käännöstyössä, kääntämistä vai editointia? Mitä ajattelet konekääntämisestä? Onko se sama asia kuin kääntäminen ilman tietokoneavustusta? Kuinka paljon konekäännöksiä käytetään?
    - Osallistutko koskaan käännettäväksi tulevien tekstien tuottamiseen tai vaikutatko muuten esim. käännettäväksi tulevien tekstien sisältöön?

Käännösprosessi: Kertoisitko vaihe vaiheelta, miten tyypillinen työtehtäväsi etenee?

- Kuka lähettää sinulle tilauksen?
- Millaisia taustatietoja/-materiaalia saat? Keneltä tieto tulee
- Mistä aloitat?
- Mistä itse käännösprosessi koostuu? (materiaaliin tutustuminen, käännöstyö, tarkistus -> kielentarkistus)

- Mitä työkaluja käytät?
- Mitä/ketä konsultoit?
- Käykö teksti jollakulla ja palaako se sinun pöydällesi?

Säätelymekanismit: Liittyykö työhösi ohjeistuksia/määräyksiä tai vastaavia, joita sinun tulee noudattaa? Mitkä tahot niitä tuottavat? Ovatko ne virallisia vai epävirallisia?

Virallisia käytäntöjä ja mekanismeja

- Virallisia linjauksia/lakeja/ohjeita?
- Onko sinulla jotain itse kehitettyjä (esim. aiemmin hyväksi havaittuja) ohjenuoria kääntämiseen? Miten ne syntyivät?
- Teillä on kuulemma käytössä talonsisäinen Style Guide for translators, missä määrin sitä käytetään? Onko jokapäiväisessä käytössä vai enemmän perehdytystä varten luotu? Ovatko siinä esitetyt ohjeistukset tyypillisiä ongelmia, joita kääntämisessä kohtaat?
- Käännösten kielentarkistus, yleinen vai satunnainen käytäntö? Onko kääntäjällä kuitenkin päävastuu?

Työkohtaisia

- Mikä rooli on asiakkaalla?
- Entä vaikuttaako tekstin tuleva yleisö? (ohjeistaako asiakas tai muu taho vai onko huomioonottaminen oma päätöksesi) Miten? (muutatko sanavalintoja, lauserakenteita, tyyliä, genreä, tapaa puhutella tai jotain ihan muuta)
- Millaisia kielellisiä tai kulttuurillisia asioita kääntämisessä on otettava huomioon?
- Saatteko koulutusta työhönne? Esim. uusien genrejen/terminologian/alojen kääntämiseen? Millaisia ja minkä kestoisia koulutukset ovat?
- Palaute – keneltä sitä saa? Asiakkaalta, kollegoilta? Koordinaattorilta, esimieheltä? Onko mitään laaduntarkkailumekanismeja? (lähetetäänkö asiakkaille kyselyjä tai tiedustellaanko muilta tahoilta työstä palautetta)

Periaatteita

- Mitkä ovat tärkeimpiä kääntämisen periaatteita, joita työssäsi noudatat? (Koskinen 2008: sujuvan ja luettavan tekstin tuottaminen, lähtö- ja kohdetekstien vastaavuus, aikataulun pitäminen, tekstin mukauttaminen kohdeyleisölle, oikeakielisyys, olemassa olevien käytäntöjen noudattaminen, instituution tekstintuottamiskäytäntöjen uudistaminen)

Ideologiat: Millaiseksi koet kääntämisen ja kääntäjän roolin yliopistolla?

- Koetko roolin muuttuneen vuosien varrella tai luuletko sen muuttuvan tulevaisuudessa? Miten?
- Mitä ajattelet kääntämisen olevan? (uudelleen kirjoittamista, adaptointia, toisin sanallistamista, mahdollisimman läheisten vastaavuuksien löytämistä vai jotain

ihan muuta) Onko kääntäminen luovaa? Entä koetko tekstin omaksesi kun se on käännetty vai onko se edelleen alkuperäisen kirjoittajan teksti?

- Milloin on helppo tuottaa hyvä käännös? Entä milloin se on vaikeaa?
- Millainen on hyvä käännös? Mitkä asiat onnistumiseen vaikuttavat?
- Millaisia vaikeuksia tekstiä kääntäessäsi kohtaat? Miten lähdet niitä ratkomaan?
- Vertaisryhmät? Tapaatko muita kääntäjiä [yksikön] ulkopuolella? Seuraatko alan kehitystä muutoin kuin [yksikön] järjestämissä koulutuksissa?

APPENDIX E: ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview guide for translators

Background: Could you tell me a bit about yourself and how you ended up working in the [Unit]?

- education
- work history

Work tasks: What kind of work do you do in the [Unit] and what is it like to work as a translator in the [Unit]?

- What kind of texts do you translate and how do you distribute the tasks?
    - Length
    - Have you specialized to translate texts from specific fields?
    - How do you decide who takes on a translation?
    - Do you translate texts in the order they come in or do some texts go on top of the pile?
    - How is translation work scheduled?
    - Clients: often the same ones? Do you ever meet with them? What do the meetings concern?
    - Where do you work?
    - Do you work alone/with someone? Who?
    - Do you receive a montly salary or do you work on a piece rate?
    - What else does your work entail?

- Are there things that aid in translation?
    - Tools? (translation memory software, dictionaries, internet, style guides for writing)
    - Machine translation and the role of the human in translation work, translation or editing? What do you think about machine translation? Is it the same as translating without technical assistance? How much do you use machine translation?
    - Do you ever participate in the production of the original texts or do you in some other way influence the making of the originals?

The translation process: Could you tell me phase by phase how your typical work assignment proceeds?

- Who sends you the order?
- What kind of background information or materials do you get? Who provides it

- How do you start?
- What does the process include? (familiarizing oneself with the material, translation work, checking -> language revision)
- What tools do you use?
- Who/What do you consult?
- Does the text go to someone and does it eventually come back to your desk?

Regulatory mechanisms: Is you work regulated by guidelines/instructions or the like that you need to adhere to? Who produces these? Are they official or unofficial?

Official practices and mechanisms

- Official instructions/regulation/guidelines?
- Do you have any self-developed guidelines (e.g. ways of working that have worked in the past) for translation? How did they come into being?
- I hear you have an in-house Style Guide for translators, to what degree do you use it? Is it in everyday use or has it been created for socializing new employees for ways of working? Are the guidelines instructing on typical translation issues you face frequently while translating?
- The language revision of translations, a general or occasional practice? Is the translator still primarily responsible for the translation?

Work-specific

- What kind of role does the client have?
- How about the future audience of the text? (Does the client or someone else instruct you on who the audience is or are any potential measures based on your best judgement) How? (Do you change vocabulary, clausal constructions, style, genre, way of addressing the reader or something else)
- What kind of linguistic or cultural things need to be kept in mind when translating?
- Do you receive training? E.g. when translating new genres/terminology/disciplines? What is the training like and how long do they last?
- Feedback – who gives it? The client, colleagues? The coordinator, your supervisor? Do you have mechanisms for quality control? (do you send out questionnaires for clients or ask for feedback from someone else)

Principles

- What are the most important principles for translation you adhere to in your work? (Koskinen 2008: the production of fluent and readable text, equivalence between the source and target text, keeping to deadlines, accommodating the text to the target audience, linguistic correctness, adhering to existing practices, renewing the existing text production practices)

Ideologies: How do you see the role of translation and the role of the translator in the university?

- Do you think the role has changed over the years or do you think it will change in the future? How?
- What do you think translation is? (rewriting, adaptation, rewording, finding as close as possible equivalents or something else) Is translation creative? After translating do you feel ownership of the text or is it still the original author's text?
- When is it easy to produce a good translation? When is it difficult?
- What is a good translation like? What are the things that affect successfulness?
- What kind of difficulties do you face when translating? How do you solve the issues?
- Peer groups? Do you ever meet with other translators outside the [Unit]? Do you keep up with the developments of the field in other ways than participating in the training organized by the [Unit]?

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW EXTRACTS IN FINNISH

Katkelma 1.

SenTra tätä kielenkäyttöö säätelee sitten niinkun , et mitä on saatavilla , vaikka nyt Finlexissä, niin, niin , aina katsotaan sieltä et löytyykö joku lainkäännös , johon , johon viitataan nyt , yliopistolaki tietysti niin ilman muuta mut et muitakin . niin , tämmöset aina tarkistetaan

HMP mut että vähemmän kuitenki on sit se , määrittelevä , virallisempi siinä niinku työssä et sit niinku yksittäisiin , terminologioihin käytetään

SenTra no joo . joo. mut et , kyl tokihan sit on, on kaikennäkösii tämmösii auktoriteettejä joita käydään sit tarkistamassa et on ne sitten ministeriöiden sivuja tai , tämmösii EU:n sivuja . joo . mut että , nettiä käytetään paljon . <kuiskaten> Wikipediaa myös @@

Katkelma 8.

[Tra] mut et mikä mun rooli täällä sitte <huokaa> , on niin tota , no siis kyllähän mä sillä lail koen niinku olevani palveluammatissa , ja ja tota , niin , öö . kyl me varmaan itse asias aika tärkeitä ollaan täälä et niinku tää pystyy toimimaan monikielisenä , yliopistona . että tota , vaikka niinku siis , suomalaisten kielitaitohan on hirveen, hyvä ja , varmasti voitaisiin olla monikielinen yliopisto vähän @huonommallaki @ kielitaidolla mut että , et et sit jos niinku on näitä tämmösiä kunnianhimosia tavotteita mistä just puhuttiin aikasemmin niin sit täytyy kyllä, olla niinkun huolellinen joka asiassa että tota , et sen puolesta niin mun mielest niinku [yksikkö] on tärkee yksikkö tässä , yliopiston strategiassa

Katkelma 9.

HMP minkälaisii kaikkii tekstei teille tulee , käännettäväks?

[Tra] no siis , varmaan nyt semmonen näkyvin on esimerkiks nää [intranet]-uutiset ja samoin sitte noi , nettisivujen ne tiedeuutiset, niin ne käännetään , meillä . mut et sit valitettavasti niinku esimerkiks muu [intranet]-sisältö ja nettisisältö niin tota , hirveen mielellämme niinku autettas tota yliopistoyhteisöä , kun on kunnianhimoset tavotteet että ollaan maailman [xxx] parhaan yliopiston joukossa ja , tämmöstä et se et se tulis myös niinkun kielen kautta . niinku selväksi se asia , ja , että kun nyt esimerkiks näitä, opiskelijoita muualta houkutellaan..

HMP ja sit kuitenkin lukukausimaksujakin joillakin on

[Tra] just näin . niin, että niinkun et kun ne kattoo meiän nettisivuja et , et näyttäs siltä et täällä niinku hallitaan asiat . [...] ja se että ku halutaan nyt olla vakavasti otettava, @@@ tiedeyliopisto niin , niin , kyl se must pitäs näkyä ihan , ihan et kaikki on niinku , ei siis olla melkein vaan se pitää olla just

Katkelma 10.

[Tra] jos markkinoidaan yliopistoa jonkinnäkösenä asiantuntijana ulospäin niin , sillon mun mielest niinku meiän rooli on tärkee koska ei näytä , vakavasti otettavalta asiantuntijalta jos ei sitä asiaa osata , ilmasta, oikein

HMP mut et siinä sit ehkä tuntuu että vielä , tavallaan ois niinku , varaa parantaa yliopiston?

[Tra] no kyllä mun mielestä et niinkun mua niinku , pikkusen sit harmittaa se et kun viestintä esimerkiks selkeesti laittaa ihan varmasti aika paljonki rahaa niinku tähän visuaaliseen puoleen ja , hienot nettisivuthan meillä on ja , mut et sit ku kattoo niin , siellä jossain bannereissa saattaa lukee jotain ihan kauheeta
[...]

[Tra] tai jos sä oot opiskelija joka etsit opiskelupaikkaa ja katsot eri yliopistojen sivuja ja jos , tuut tämmösen yliopiston sivuille jossa , on ihan, miten sattuu @@@ asiat kirjotettu niin , ehkei se hirveen houkuttavalta näytä sitte

Katkelma 11.

SenTra olis ihanaa jos niinkun yliopistolla olis joku tämmönen , viranomainen @@@ , joka niinkun , tosiaan et siis okei meillä on kielipolitiikka . ja sitähän nyt sit yksiköissä . eh , enemmän tai vähemmän sitten noudatetaan mut et ihmiset niinku sitä tuntuu tulkitsevan sitten vähän , omalla tavallaan . mut se kun meilt koko ajan kysytään että et mikä on se oikee ja virallinen , tapa sanoa joku asia . no eihän semmost ole , ja sit ihmiset on kauheen pettyneitä . ja sit toisaalta et eihän niinkun , me ei taas niinkun viran puolesta voida niinkun sanoo että että näin , näin vain saa sanoa . et eihän meillä semmosta auktoriteettiä ole . et , et semmonen ainoo nyt mitä me ollaan niinkun , tos viety läpi tai mistä pidetään ainakin omissa teksteis kiinni on et kun , [yliopisto] nyt on eurooppalainen yliopisto , niin kirjotetaan sitä brittienglantia . mut et sitten , on yksiköitä jotka , ei missään nimessä halua . joku center niin se , se kirjottaa sen centren niinku , tai siis sen centerin , niinku maailman tappiin vaikka me miten yritetään sitä @@ , muuttaa centreks että tota, tämmöstä, tämmöstä pientä , niinkun @@

HMP niin . mut onks se semmosta niinku teistä lähtösin se , niinku et , et aateltu et se brittienglanti on semmonen joka..?

SenTra no joo , koska ku sitäkin on niinku kysytty meiltä , ja me ollaan sit kun , se on just ku ei oo , ketään keneltä niinkun kysyä sitte tuolla ylemmissä kerroksissa , niin sit me niinku pääteltiin omissa pienissä päissämme et no tehään nyt ees tämmönen linjanveto

Katkelma 13.

HMP Sä sanoit et sä olit siin auditointi , öh . siinä jutus . eiks siis ollu joku koulutus? niinku vai muistanks mä nyt ihan väärin?

Tra4 öö meil oli semmonen alku- , öö . joo . mm , tapaaminen missä me just saatiin sillon me saatiin se iso muisti ja siin käytiin vähän niinku just näitä . joo . sillon oli

HMP joo . mut tää ei oo mikään yleinen käytäntö sit

Tra4 se ei oo sellanen niinku et niin ne toistuis jotenki mut ehkä just tollasten niinku ku se oli kuitenki niin valtava projekti niin siinähän oli , monta , tuhatta tai kymmentä tuhatta sivuu käännettävänä et se oliki varmaan ihan järkevää ja ku , siinä piti ku sitä massaa oli niin sit sitä jaettiin niinku , et mul oli esimerkiks parin tiedekunnan tekstit että , vähän varmaan tiedekunnittain ne jako sitten niitä . ja just käytiin aluks , sellasii suurii linjoi läpi , että näin ja näin toimitaan ja . mut että aika paljonhan tavallaan , no se muistihan on niinku aika tärkee ohje , tavallaan et sielt tulee niitä mitä sinne on kuitenkin näillä jo vuosien mittaan kertyny sitä käytäntöö , niin sieltä tulee tavallaan sellasta niinku , jatkuvaa syötettä , joka on niinku sitä ohjetta sit samalla myös että okei , tää asia on tehty näin että , ku asioithan voi sanoo monel taval ja ne kaikki on oikein mutta tietysti , pyritään käyttään sellast tapaa mitä on käytetty ennenkin . pysyy linjat sitte

Katkelma 14.

SenTra ja tää toinen dokumentti on , opetustaitolausunto , niin tota no täs on esimerkiks , viittaus tota , yliopistolakiin

HMP mm-hm? joka löytyy finlexistä englanniks

SenTra se löytyy finlexistäh jooh

HMP mut sitä ei ollu nyt tästä käytetty?

SenTra ei ja sit se se pitäs myös näistä monista muisteista tulla mitä [freelancerille] oli toimitettu

Katkelma 15.

SenTra nää täytyy olla niinku yhdenmukasia , jotta näyttää siltä että niinku esimerkiks nää et hakijoita kohdellaan yhdenmukasesti

Katkelma 16.

UnitDir ja käännösmuistihan on tietysti ihan loistava asia koska käännetään , samankaltasia hallinnollisia tekstejä esimerkiks niin terminologia pysyy samana . ja tota , sit tietysti jos on , nopee työ , pitkä työ näin , niin saatetaan jakaa useammalle kääntäjälle jokka lähtee tekee sitä yhtä aikaa . ja sitten ne , sulautetaan yhteen . niin että , et se näyttää , se on loppujen lopuks niin ku se ois yhden ihmisen tekemä

Katkelma 17.

Tra2 et onhan siinä just se että et me voidaan niinku tämän , meidän niinku , kokemuksen ja historian ja ammattitaidon puitteissa tehdä just tämmösiä niinku . mutta me tehdään hyvin tai itse asias me ei oikein tehdä tämmösiä julkilausumia , vaan se on just se että koska meidän läpi kulkee kaikki , yliopiston englanniksi käännettävä teksti niin , niin kun me otetaan style guidessa tai muualla tehdään tämmösiä päätöksiä niin ne on sit ne . jotka on yliopiston päätöksiä että..

HMP aivan , niin.

Tra2 oikeinkirjotuksen ja , välimerkkien käytön ja , tämmösen kannalta että . muistan että , sitäkin on niinku mieltä joskus , jossain vaiheessa ihmisillä oli semmonen kuva siitä että me ollan niinku päättävä elin . että me , me niinku laaditaan linjauksia ja voidaan niinku sanella . mut se on jännä et muodollisestihan me ei todellakaan olla . että meillä ei oo semmost auktoriteettia mutta , mut käytännössä@@

Katkelma 19.

Tra2 mä yritän tehä siitä just niinku lähinnä niin idiomaattisesti kun mahdollista että se.. mä niinku pyrin tekemään siitä tekstistä semmosen että se näyttäis siltä että se ois kirjotettu englanniks , että englanninkielinen toimittaja ois kirjottanu sen . öm , ja mä koen että tää on ihan OK strategia , just näis niinku kevyemmissä journalistisissa , teksteissä

[...]

Tra2 että siin olis niinku ne samat , journalistiset hyveet mitkä usein niissä alkuteksteissä on että siin on niinku , rytmitys ja rakenne ja se on semmonen että se niinku , vetää ja , jos on huumoria tai sanaleikkiä niin sitten mä yritän löytää siihen semmostakin että..

HMP aivan , niin just , joo . elikkä siin on just tosiaan sen tekstilajin tyypillisyys..

Tra2 niin , joo

HMP ehkä sit tulee siihen ohjaamaan sitä

Tra2 ehdottomasti että mitä sit siinä vaiheessa kun , on jotain , opiskelijan ilmottautumisohjeita niin sinne ei todellakaan mitään idiomeja sinne laiteta että..

HMP niin , niin , aivan . et joo niin et se saa tavallaan olla sitten se teksti ihan eri tavalla vähän niinku viihdyttäväkin myös..

Tra2 joo

HMP semmonen et siihen saa niinku ehkä , pureutua tai niinku että sen ei tarviikaan aueta ehkä välttämät ihan..

Tra2 niin

HMP ja sit taas on tekstejä jotka , pitää @@ aueta . et se ei oo ei voi niinku, ihminen ei voi jäädä miettimään että miten tämän pitäs toimii sitten

Tra2 niin just niin, niin nimenomaan joo . ja kyllä mä , siis itse varsnkin kun ne on semmosia tekstejä , jotka on hallinnollisia ohjetekstejä jotka on suunnattu opiskelijoille , niin niissä yritän nimenomaan just panostaa semmoseen että , kun ne meiänkin opiskelijat tulee niin monesta eri paikasta ja niil on niin moni eri, mo- monet eri taustat mutta, senkin takii mä tykkään niistä viestinnän käännöksistä et sit voi . vähän irrotella ja käyttää luovuutta

Katkelma 20.

HMP onks ne sit ehkä silleen , näkyyks se siin käännöksessä et jos se menee vaikka opiskelijoille tai versus että se ihan loppuloppukäyttäjä on opiskelija, kun että se ois vaikka tutkija tai ehkä joku toinen hallintohenkilökunnasta tai et , niinku?

SenTra no joo ja se on just ehkä joskus vähän ongelma ku hallinnon ihmiset , ne kirjottaa niinku toisilleen , ja siel on hirveesti sitä semmosta tietoa siel rivien välissä , joka täytyy sieltä kaivaa . ja sitte , sehän täytyy ottaa huomioon et sitten , jos nyt on niinkun yliopiston henkilökunnast kysymys että sit käännetään niinkun , näille ei-suomenkielisille , niin heil ei oo sitä samaa , rivienvälistä tietoo eikä , sitä semmosta kulttuurista tietoo sitten aina , et se täytyy sit heille niinkun avata

HMP niin aivan . ja se on niinku..

SenTra joo . ja opiskelija , totta kai tää sitte koskee niinku myös opiskelijoita että . sen takia käännöksistähän tulee aina vähän pitempi kun alkutekstistä

Katkelma 21.

Tra4 ja sitten on näit just tälläsii tutkimustiedotteita niin öö ne mä oon tulkinnu et ne on vähän silleen niinku , maallikoille tavallaan että halutaan kertoo ihmisille et hei nyt me ollaan tehty tällanen löytö , et niis käytetään kyl sitä jargonii mut sit niis on tavallaan sellasii selitteitä että joku päläpälä , ja sitte eli , tai jotain tällasta et vähän niinku, kirjotetaan auki et mist, mist on kyse

HMP mut et se on , se on niinku silleen sun , sun tulkinta et..

Tra4 se on tavallaan mun tulkintaa joo , mut ei , ei niihin oo koskaan puututtu että oon ilmeisesti aina @@ tul- , tulkinnu silleen järkevästi , että minkälaisesta tekstityypistä sitte on kyse

[...]

Tra4 mutta, kyl ne tiedotteet on silleen yleensä aika selkeitä että , välillä ne voi olla aika paksultikin sitä jargonii et sit sitte joskus vähän ehkä tekee mieli selittää viel enemmän kun miten siin on ehkä selitettykään ja sit mä oon niinku , vähintäänki ehdottanu sinne noille asiatarkastajille sitten että hei laitettasko tähän , näin että se vähän helpottaa viel sitä lukemista

Katkelma 22.

HMP onks niis yleensä otettu huomioon jo niis suomenkielisissä , jotka sulle tulee se että se käännetään , et se yleisö on ehkä eri , erilainen kuin , tai vai jouduk sä tekemään semmost modifikaatiota siihen , et sä otat huomioon sit sen , ei-suomalaisen yleisön?

Tra4 no kylhän ne sinänsä on varmaan jollain taval ottanu huomioon kun nehän ite sitten aina ne käännöstilaukset tekee mut en mä tiedä onks ne silleen , sillä mielellä sitä erityisesti sitte kirjottanu mutta , ei niissä nyt sit sinänsä että kun ne on kuitenkin asiatekstii ja niinku tietoo halutaan välittää niin ei , ei niis nyt hirveesti yleensä mut ehkä just enemmän tollasissa mis halutaan jotain tollast , välillä niinku tavallaan tän yliopiston ja tiedeyhteisön ulkopuolelle niin sit niis voi vähän just miettii että , et miten haluis sen ilmasta silleen että kuka tahansa , sen ymmärtää . et sitte muuten jos on kyse näistä , vaikka laitoksen nettisivuista tai tiedekunnan ohjeista niin sithän se on kuitenkin joko opiskelijoille ja tutkijoille tai vähintäänkin sit semmosille jotka , on kiinnostunu hakeen tänne

Katkelma 23.

FreeTra1 joo sit se [käännös] menee tota , asiatarkistukseen ensin että tota siellä joku kollegoistani käy läpi sen ihan silleen niin ku sen asian perusteella tai kannalta että..

HMP niin toinen kääntäjä?

FreeTra1 niin . ettei siinä oo niinku , no asiavirheitä . sit se tulee takasin ja sitten jos siinä on jotain mitä pitää korjata niin sitten kääntäjä korjaa ja sit se lähtee uudestaan ja sit se menee niinku sinne kielentarkistukseen

Katkelma 24.

Tra4 kun ne tarkastetaan, ensin ne tarkastetaan , se mun käännös niinkun ne [yksikön] suomenkieliset kääntäjät tarkastaa niinku asiasisällön puolesta et sit sieltä saattaa tulla et joo että tää on ihan jees mut meillä on tapan tai sanotaan niinku näin . et tollasii niinku ja sit sen tietysti yrittää painaa mieleensä sit seuraavaa kertaa varten

Katkelma (tekstin sisällä)

FreeTra1 siinä tulee sitten kans keskusteltuu niistä termeistä ja jos ei niinku esimerkiks siinä käännöksen aikana oo tullu ajatelleeks et aa että täs vois olla joku toinenkin vaihtoehto [...] jokaisella on vähän se oma tyylinsä ja toiveensa sanastosta ja termeistä

Katkelma 26.

HMP koet sä sit että se , jako noissa kahessa tarkistuksessa on , ihan niinku päivänselvä että et se asiatarkastus , puuttuu vaan sit niihin asioihin ja kielentarkistus sit vaan siihen kieleen vai voiks ne mennä joskus vähän silleen?

Tra4 öö no voi olla , öö mennä vähän sekasinkin et kyllä asiatarkastajaki puuttuu joskus kieleen jos siel on ihan semmonen , selkee virhe , niin sit se on merkannu sen ja sit tietysti mä muutan sen että ei siinä mitään ja sitte joskus kielentarkistajatki puuttuu asiaan että joo . mutta siis tietysti pääsääntösesti , pääsääntösesti omilla tonteillaan pysyy

Katkelma 27.

Tra2 mutta tota , kyl mä olen nyt itse tullu , melkein kaikkien näiden viestinnän juttujen kanssa siihen lopputulokseen että , et kyl se on ihan hyvä et ne tulee meille . kun siin on kumminkin semmosesta PR:stä myös , myös kyse sekä niinku sisäisen viestinnän että varsinkin ulkosen viestinnän kanssa että, et sen pitää olla niinku ele-eleganttia ja idiomaattista englantia että siellä se ei riitä että se on niinku, nippa nappa ymmärrettävää

Katkelma 31.

UnitDir toi on vähä , sellanen asia mistä aina sillon , tällön me keskustellaan kyllä esimerkiks kielentarkistajien kanssa ja jotkut niinku , miettiikin sitä , siis ei ehkä tolta kannalta että onks siel liian vähän merkintöjä mutta siltä kannalta että , meneeks se niin kun itse liian syvälle siihen tekstiin . että missä kohtaa niinku pitää osata lopettaa? koska sitähän ei voi lähtee niinku pyöräyttämään sitä toisen jotain artikkelia . jotain tutkimusta niin kun ihan uusiks

Int niin aivan.

UnitDir vaikka se , ei niin kun oman logiikan läpi meniskään . mä luulen et jokainen kielentarkistajakin miettii tota , varmaan aina itsekseen ja . nää ei oo mitenkään , selkeitä , ees selkeesti ohjeistettava

[...]

Int niin joo . mutta tosiaan mitään yleisiä ohjeita sä sanoit et ei oo että sit jokainen työntekijä käytännös sit käyttää omaa harkintaansa niissä kohdissa mitä hän joko korjaa tai jättää korjaamatta

UnitDir joo et se mikä täällä lukee täähän on aika yksityiskohtanen sitte kuitenkin että mihin puututaan . että mitä sen yli mennään , niin sitten sen kyl sitten näkee palautteesta , ihan nopeasti oliko se hyvä vai huono idea . mennä sen rajan yli . yleensä se on hyvä idea . yleensä siitä kiitetään et on ihan ekstraan niinku paneuduttu